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The Shape of Things

FROM BERGEN TO BORDEAUX, FROM ATHENS to Amsterdam resistance to the Nazi conquerors is boiling ever more furiously. There are reports daily of riots and mass arrests, sabotage and heavy collective fines, assassinations and executions. Joseph Harsch, the distinguished correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor,* states in his recent book, "Pattern of Conquest," that in the summer of 1940 Hitler had a real opportunity to capture the leadership of Europe. The conquered peoples were in a mood for change. They were disillusioned about the structure of their societies, disgusted with the governments which had led them to defeat. They were ready to accept a "New Order" which offered peace, bread, and economic equality. The correct behavior and even the studied friendliness of the German armies of occupation seemed to offer them a hope. But disillusion set in rapidly as the vultures of the Reich Economic Ministry and the Gestapo swarmed in behind the soldiers. Quickly they went to work bleeding each country white by their methods of "scientific looting," and it was not long before the conquered peoples were made to realize that the benefits of the New Order were solely for the *Herrenvolk.* For the rest of Europe there was no prospect save a future of political and economic slavery. As this realization sank in, the spirit of resistance grew and found organized forms. Today the Nazi forces throughout Europe must more and more bend their energies to hew off the heads of popular revolt. They will find that for each head that falls a dozen will spring to life.

*

NO PEOPLE IN EUROPE HAS STRUGGLED against German occupation more stoutly than the Norwegians, whose solidarity has been brought into high relief by the utter failure of the Nazi attempt to provide them with a native Führer in the person of the ridiculous Quisling. In impotent rage this puppet premier recently made a speech declaring that if the people continued to oppose him and his German masters he would crush them by acts of terror. The answer of the Norwegian workers was a general strike in Oslo, which led in turn to the proclamation of martial law in the district by the Nazi

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Commissar Joseph Terboven. There followed mass arrests and the deposition of many trade-union leaders in favor of Quisling's henchmen. Two leading Norwegian labor leaders, Viggo Hansteen and Rolf Vikström, were shot; others condemned to long terms of imprisonment. These brutal actions have not quelled the Norwegians, and they have caused an explosion of anger throughout the North. In Sweden, where the government has at times gone to great lengths to avoid upsetting Berlin, the press has been outspoken in its condemnation, while the Swedish Labor Federation opened its annual congress by passing a resolution of sympathy and solidarity with the Norwegian workers.

*

"THE BULLETS THAT FELLED HANSTEEN AND Vikström," wrote the leading Swedish conservative organ *Svenska Dagbladet,* "whizzed closely above the heads of the Labor Congress delegates in Stockholm, ricochetted across the Baltic Sea, and did not miss their mark even in Finland." It is reported that the assaults made on the Norwegian trade unions have profoundly impressed the Finnish workers, who, however bitterly they resent Russian aggression, are dismayed to find their country the very junior partner of Nazi Germany. There are many indications that the Finns are by no means as wholeheartedly in favor of the present war as they were when the country was resisting the Russian attack in 1939. Despite all denials, rumors of a possible separate peace between Finland and the Soviets persist. Now that the old frontiers have been regained there is evidence of great reluctance among both civilians and soldiers for a further advance in support of Nazi imperialist designs. In a curious speech on Sunday Vaino Tanner, Minister of Trade and Communications and leader of the Social Democrats, declared that Finland would not make a separate peace. He went on to assert, however, that Finland was not a party to the great war. "It is for us," he said, "an entirely defensive war, with the aid of which we desire to secure our frontiers and a lasting peace. Whatever is needed to secure this must be done, but there our task also ends." By some observers this speech is interpreted to mean that the Finnish army will halt its offensive and cease fighting unless attacked. It is a little difficult, however, to imagine that the Nazis would countenance such inaction, which would put the German divisions based on Finland in a parlous position. And it must be remembered that, apart from the argument which German arms may present to the Helsinki government, Berlin has a whip-hand over starving Finland in the matter of food supplies.

*

THE ATTACK ON CHARLES LINDBERGH HAS become almost unanimous; at present the anti-Lindbergh front extends all the way from the White House to William Randolph Hearst. We join the ranks with enthusiasm, regretting only that the exigencies of weekly publication have delayed our enlistment by several days. What the America First Committee feels about its young Führer is not known. But the violence of the public reaction to his recent speech may induce the policy makers of that organization to consider seriously the course its leading spokesmen have lately been following. Anti-Semitism has roots in this as in every country, but its flowering waits upon the triumph of fascist reaction. And that will occur only if Hitler is allowed to win the war. Today anti-Semitism and Hitlerism are popularly regarded as Teutonic twins, doomed to die if the blood bond between them is severed. If America First wishes to hold its franchise as a native growth, it will do well to play down the racial theories of Mr. Lindbergh—and of Senators Wheeler and Nye as well. Meanwhile it may be worth remarking that Lindbergh's attempt to single out the Jews as separately responsible for a vigorous anti-Hitler policy is a monstrous libel against the rest of the community. It would be a sorry commentary on this country if the people who understood the Nazi menace were limited to a meager 2 or 3 per cent.

*

OBSERVERS FROM CHINA REPORT A MARKED improvement in internal conditions there. Civilian morale has been greatly strengthened by concrete evidences of American aid and by our restrictions on Japanese trade. A succession of military victories has also given heart to the population. The recapture of Foochow marks the first time in the war that an important city has been retaken from the enemy. Traffic on the Burma road, seriously disrupted last spring, has been reorganized and greatly speeded up through certain measures recommended by American advisers. This has offset a decline in the flow of war materials from the Soviet Union. Of great importance also has been the reduction of Kuomintang-Communist friction. While no formal or final settlement of their differences has been achieved, armed clashes between the rival groups have ceased, and it is reliably, though unofficially, reported that the Fourth Route Army has been permitted to reoccupy the territory south of the Yangtze from which it was driven las

September 24 will see the appearance of *Free World,* an anti-fascist monthly of international affairs. Edited by a distinguished group of European, Chinese, and Americans, including J. Alvarez del Vayo, Louis Dolivet, Norman Angell, Chin Meng, Pierre Cot, Walter Millis, Freda Kirchwey, and others, this journal will, we believe, be a valuable addition to the current literature of democratic resistance. In next week's issue we shall publish full details about the venture and the terms on which *Free World* will be made available to readers of *The Nation.*

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winter. This has made possible a restoration of the united front on much the same basis as that of the greater part of the past four years.

*

EVIDENCE OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF NAZI activity in South American countries continues to accumulate. In last week's radio address President Roosevelt summarized the recent disclosures regarding Hitler's "intrigues, plots, machinations, and sabotage" in Uruguay, Argentina, Bolivia, and Colombia. And even as he spoke, ten German citizens were being arrested in Chile charged with activities threatening the security of that country. All were socially prominent persons with important business interests in Chile. In Argentina the powerful Conservative bloc in the Chamber of Deputies rather unexpectedly threw its support to a Radical resolution demanding that the German Ambassador, Baron von Thermann, be recalled. This action followed specific charges by the Chamber's investigating committee that the Ambassador had abused his diplomatic privileges by directing Nazi activities in the Argentine. Another Nazi diplomatic agent, Fritz Wiedemann, has been closely watched since his arrival from Rio de Janeiro on a mysterious mission. The investigating committee also brought in a report showing that Transocean, the official German news agency, had spent approximately a million pesos in the last three and a half years, compared with legitimate revenues of 23,000 pesos. The character of the "news" distributed by Transocean may be surmised from the disclosure that financial inducements were sometimes offered to newspapers to use the agency's reports. This series of revelations about the nature and extent of Nazi activities deserves the attention of our isolationist Senators, who have been so eager to accept at their face value Hitler's protestations of disinterestness in this hemisphere.

*

AMERICAN EXPORTS TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE during the first half of 1941, compared with the same period of 1940, appear to show an intensification of our defense effort. Shipments to the empire in the 1941 period totaled $1,301,000,000 as against less than $850,000,000 in the first six months of 1940—a gain of nearly 54 per cent. This striking increase might be attributed to the effects of the lend-lease program if a further comparison were not made with the figures for the last six months of 1940. Such a comparison reveals a gain of less than 4 per cent, despite a sharp rise in shipments to Egypt and South Africa. The unvarnished truth is that aid for Britain under the Lend-Lease Act has bogged down to a dangerous degree. Possibly complaints by American exporters that Britain was selling products in South America utilizing raw materials obtained from the United States has been a factor in discouraging all-out American assistance. If this is so, the agreement between the British and American governments restricting the reexport of lend-lease materials should remove excuse for the grave lag in American aid to Britain.

*

THIS LAG IS ILLUSTRATED IN AN EVEN MORE alarming fashion by the figures in the President's second report to Congress on operations under the Lend-Lease Act. In his accompanying letter Mr. Roosevelt wrote: "We are not furnishing this aid as an act of charity but as a means of defending America. . . . The lend-lease program is no mere side issue to our program of arming for defense. It is an integral part, a keystone, in our great national effort to preserve our national security for generations to come by crushing the disturbers of our peace." Unhappily the statistics he has to offer lack entirely the eloquent ring of these words. Since the passage of the Lend-Lease Act, six months ago, and the appropriation by Congress of $7 billion for financing its purposes, only $324,563,749 in war materials and other essential supplies and services has been transferred to nations resisting Axis aggression. That is less than 5 per cent. But out of this wretched sum only $185,953,670 represents goods which have actually reached their destinations—mainly in Britain but also in Egypt, Africa, China, and the East Indies. The bulk of shipments delivered was accounted for by foodstuffs and industrial commodities. Lend-lease deliveries of aircraft to all fronts up to August 31 totaled only $6 million. Ordnance supplies were valued at $35½ million, tanks and other vehicles at $26 million, ships at under $3 million. And as I. F. Stone brings out in his Washington letter on page 244, transfers of armaments and materials on hand at the passage of the act, for which Congress provided a limit of $1,300 million, have accounted for only $97 million. What is the explanation? Is it the lag in production, or the reluctance of the War and Navy departments to release their stores, or the shipping shortage? We hope Congress will insist on an answer to these questions.

*

AN IMPRESSIVE BOARD OF HISTORIANS AND educators, headed by President James P. Baxter of Williams College, has been assigned by Colonel William J. Donovan, Coordinator of Defense Information, to the task of testing the accuracy of news reaching this country from foreign sources. According to the New York *Times*, it will endeavor to work out a system "which would filter available information in such a way as to present the nearest possible approximation to truth and be a basis for official action." As Peter Stevens shows in an article on page 248, the propaganda departments in the totalitarian countries not only prevent correspondents from sending much of the news but frequently conscript them in the war of nerves, forcing them to send tendencious and false

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reports. It is good to know that the Administration is going to check more carefully on news which may have been contaminated at the source. It would be better still if the findings of the experts could be made available to the general public, which must often rely on its own unaided wits to sift facts from propaganda in the news dispatches. Otherwise the gap between the President and public opinion may grow wider, since the conclusions of each will be based on different information.

*

THE FUTURE OF THE AMERICAN LABOR Party is being decided by the liberal voters of New York City in an important municipal primary as this is being written. For the past two years this hopeful offspring of the New Deal has been torn by a fight over Communist control. The Communists, of course, have used every trick in their fabulous repertoire to capture the organization, and under the circumstances it was probably inevitable that the anti-Communists should retort in kind. Last week, however, the A. L. P. right wing played a low kind of politics in a case that did not in any way involve the Stalinist issue. It refused to renominate Councilman Harry W. Laidler because he had supported Norman Thomas in the last election and was therefore judged to be in opposition to the President's foreign policy. Mr. Laidler says that this is not entirely true, that he supports aid to the democracies. We are not informed on his precise stand, but we fail to see how it can be of such importance as to justify the party's action. For thirty years Harry Laidler has been a scholarly and incorruptible Socialist. As a city councilman he has led his labor colleagues in the fight for decent housing and cheaper electric power. These are things that will be needed, war or no war, and it is downright political stupidity to excommunicate an honest man for his views on matters which are not at issue.

*

FOR THE SECOND TIME IN LESS THAN A month the New York State motion-picture censors have effectively suppressed the John Steinbeck–Herbert Kline documentary film "The Forgotten Village" by ordering the distributors to delete two sequences. Mrs. Grundy's explicit objection to this moving chronicle of Mexican peasant life is based on a scene showing a midwife trying to hasten childbirth by applying manual pressure to the abdomen and on one of a woman suckling an infant. It is claimed by the censors that all this is not only obscene but harrowing. Others may find it both obscene and harrowing to have to listen to their priggish nonsense. Fortunately the distributors are holding firm, and the picture will not be exhibited until it can be shown in its entirety. We hope that everyone who was not brought into this world by a stork will dispatch an early protest demanding that "The Forgotten Village" be shown as its authors, both fine artists, made it.

*

THE DEATH OF GEORGE SCHUMM AT 85 brings an intimate sense of loss to those members of *The Nation's* staff whose memories reach back into the years when he served as this journal's proofreader. He was a unique person. Profoundly learned, a scholar in several languages, Mr. Schumm was at the same time a political thinker whose anarchist philosophy permitted no compromise. He was ready always to sacrifice his personal interests to his principles and ideas. Because he disbelieved in the exercise of power by one man over another, he refused to hold positions of authority for which his experience and talents well fitted him. But this stern adherence to principle produced no corresponding sternness in "Papa" Schumm's personality; he was so genial and so gentle that his very presence in the office created an atmosphere of friendly warmth which his old-time colleagues will never forget.

Japan Behind the Headlines

THERE has been every indication this past week that the American public is being prepared for an agreement with Japan which will represent a full-fledged return to the appeasement policy followed during the past four years. As in Britain at the time of Munich, the press has been doing a subtle but effective job in setting the stage for this development. Washington dispatches cautiously refer to the "lessening of tension" in the Far East and the possibility of a settlement. News-agency reports from Tokyo stress the growing "moderation" of Japanese policy and seek to give the impression that civilian elements are gaining the upper hand over the military. Cautious forecasts of the nature of the settlement between the United States and Japan are allowed to leak out although none have revealed Japanese plans for the partition of China as given in last week's issue of *The Nation*. In fact, China is rarely mentioned in these inspired dispatches.

If Japan could be wooed from its Axis alignment and restored to the family of law-abiding nations, it would indeed be a signal triumph for American diplomacy. But there is no evidence that a real change of heart has occurred in Tokyo. Nationalist newspapers continue to denounce the United States in vigorous terms. Just one article has appeared that was in any sense critical of the Axis, and the issue of the paper containing it was immediately suppressed by the police.

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The centralization of the Japanese army under a new General Defense Headquarters commanded by the Emperor has been widely interpreted in our press as evidence of the ascendancy of civilian elements over the extremists of the army. Actually, the reverse is the case. As Seigo Nakano, president of the Fascist Party of Japan, the *Tohokai,* told a huge mass-meeting in Tokyo, the militarists have all but exhausted their patience. Unless the United States accepts Konoye's terms in full, including the partition of China, they threaten to overthrow the civilian government and "blast their way to Singapore and the Persian Gulf."

Most observers believe that their program would be preceded by a wave of political assassinations. In this situation placing the Emperor in a position of direct control over the army appears to be a clever and desperate attempt to hold the militarists in check by invoking the sacred prestige of the Throne. Such a step has never before been resorted to in Japanese history. Unfortunately, however, it may prove a boomerang. For while it places the civilian government for the first time in a position of authority over the army, it also may serve to cloak any action of the army with the sanctity of the Emperor's prestige.

Considering the circumstances in which Japanese-American negotiations are being carried on, we should be skeptical of reports that Tokyo is prepared to make far-reaching concessions to obtain a settlement with this country. For Konoye or any other leader to suggest withdrawal from the whole of China or abandonment of the goals of the East Asia campaign would be an act of personal as well as political suicide. About all that can be expected, as the New York *Herald Tribune* accurately phrases it, is that the United States shall be admitted as a junior partner in Japan's "co-prosperity sphere in the Far East."

Yet it is evident from all reports from Washington that both the President and Secretary Hull are anxious to obtain a settlement. We cannot believe that they will go so far as to sell out China on Japanese terms. But even a limited agreement restoring normal trade relations in exchange for a Japanese "promise" to discontinue its aggressive moves toward the South Seas would in effect constitute a betrayal of China. By stopping shipments of war materials to Japan, we have made it possible for China, for the first time, to stage an effective offensive and recapture a major city. A renewed appeasement policy permitting Japan to receive those badly needed materials would be a bitter blow to Chiang Kai-shek's courageous armies, which have been fighting our battles, as well as their own, these past four years. It would constitute a shameless surrender to the threats of the Japanese militarists, and thus provide another link in the chain of diplomatic victories won by the aggressors at the expense of democracies which were too civilized to fight.

Propaganda or History?

THE movie industry is open to public criticism as a near-monopoly. It is dangerous to leave its huge opinion-forming machinery in the hands of a small group of men. In no other opinion industry, neither in the press nor in radio, is control as concentrated as in the films; the consent decree obtained by the Department of Justice last November against the industry is a sham. The films are still subject to the worst kind of censorship, the censorship of private bigots operating without any authorization of law under a production code which enables the Catholic church to bully the movie magnates and the magnates to bully the independents. Under the industry code independents who decline to submit their scripts in advance for approval may be barred from showing their films in any of the 2,800 first-run theaters. This censorship, headed by Will Hays, who left the Republican Party under a cloud and entered the movie industry under a halo, is ostensibly concerned only with sex. Actually it is also political, as is shown by the fact that the Hays office forbade the filming of Sinclair Lewis's "It Can't Happen Here." Hays, according to the New York *Times,* objected to the film on the ground that it was anti-fascist. Far from being too vigorously anti-Nazi, the movies, as long as they could, avoided making any films that might endanger their markets in Germany and Italy. Business was their first consideration.

All this, in honesty, must be said before one can enter a defense of the movie industry against the preliminary investigation now being conducted by the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee. It is not the nobility of the movie magnates but the context of the inquiry and the motivation of those behind the investigation which make it suspect. We venture to say that a majority of the members of the subcommittee holding the present hearings will dare neither to recommend strong action against monopoly practices nor to criticize the unofficial censorship imposed on the industry by the church. The inquiry is only one aspect of a widespread campaign to "soften up" the American people, to make them believe that Nazism —despite all Hitler's statements to the contrary—holds no danger for this country, and that we can safely repeat the errors made by the British and French when they decided that the advance of the Third Reich into Austria and Czecho-Slovakia was no concern of theirs. The American people are expected to believe, after all that has happened in the past decade, that the Nazi menace is a figment of the Jewish imagination. The theme of the campaign of which the Senate investigation is a part was set by Lindbergh when he said in his Des Moines speech that "their [the Jews'] greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our

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motion pictures, our press, our radio, and our government." The purpose of the Interstate Commerce Committee inquiry is to spread the impression that the reason we have anti-Nazi movies is because many of the big motion-picture companies are owned by Jews, and conversely that the evils of Nazism depicted in the pictures are grossly and deliberately exaggerated.

This thesis grows the more ludicrous the closer it comes to actual details. John T. Flynn complained that the film "Underground" sought to display the Germans, the German government, and German soldiers "in acts of brutality so savage and so inhuman that the spectator revolts and is filled with a desire to wreak vengeance." But can any movie hope to surpass the bald facts of what has happened within the Reich and in the countries it has conquered since Hitler came to power? Flynn objected that the film "That Hamilton Woman" sought subtly to put across the idea that "you can't make peace with Hitler." Can any movie hope to equal Munich in this respect? Can any actor aspire to give as convincing a performance in the role as did Chamberlain during his lifetime? There may be some doubt about what is propaganda, but there is no doubt as to historical fact. Oranienburg and Dachau, the persecuted Poles and the new disease-infested ghetto of Warsaw, Hitler's peaceful protestations and attacks without warning—these exist, and if they are to be kept out of our movies, why not out of our newspapers and our history books? One of the favorite Nazi devices in dealing with a weaker country is to require it to bar "hostile propaganda" from its press and radio and films. The Senate committee in effect is demanding what Goebbels would never dare ask of the United States.

The Roosevelt Strategy

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE President's speech said exactly as little and exactly as much as could well have been said at the moment. Less would have been nothing; more would have been war. Less would have meant abandonment of our announced purpose to make the Atlantic highway safe for American cargoes en route to the various battle fronts. More would have precipitated the issue of war in Congress.

The President could not retreat from the obligations we have assumed under the terms of the Lend-Lease Act and through a score of official pronouncements without sacrificing the whole policy upon which our future depends. But if he had proposed measures which went beyond those obligations and thus called for a showdown in Congress, the consequences might be almost equally serious. For the necessity of the hour is action; and the habit of Congress is inaction—inaction elaborately implemented by the techniques of talk and parliamentary maneuver. As it reassembles this week, Congress has before it a bill to appropriate new lend-lease billions. It would have been reckless to subordinate, and so endanger, this immediately essential measure by precipitating a major debate on war and peace. And it would have been even more unwise to center a war-and-peace debate on the issue created by the Nazi attempt to sink the Greer.

Two definite gains, however, have been made. The ruling of Attorney General Biddle exempting several outlying parts of the British Empire from the restrictions imposed by the Neutrality Act—notably Singapore and certain West African bases—opens important new areas to American ships carrying materials to the anti-fascist forces. And Secretary Knox's clear-cut statement that the patrol system will hereafter be as effective as convoying offers genuine assurance that we will go about our job in a workmanlike manner.

Congress and the people have amply demonstrated their support for all measures necessary to the job of getting war supplies to the various fronts where other nations are spending their blood to stop Hitler's advance. That the job involved risks was evident when it was undertaken. Now that the risks have materialized in attacks and sinkings, the need to act in defense not only of our ships but of our policy is apparent; and the reception of the President's speech proves that it is almost universally accepted. But this does not mean that the people are ready for war. They will accept war, no doubt, if Hitler shoves it down their throats. They will accept it as the logical, if regrettable, consequences of a policy they have approved. But the more profound and simpler reason for fighting—the necessity of actively helping to defeat Nazism—has not won the public mind; it lurks there, biding its time, but it has not yet cleared out the host of illusions and forlorn hopes that still rule American thinking and so American policy.

For this, I believe, the President is largely responsible. Since long before the war began he has shrunk from the political implications of his own remarkably clear vision of world developments. From the day he made his "quarantine" speech in Chicago until the other night in the White House he has handled American foreign policy according to his favorite quarterback tactics. He has taken the ball, run a few steps, dodged back to avoid an opponent; sometimes he has advanced it a few yards, sometimes he has been thrown for a loss. Each time he has announced a clear position he has half retracted it or belittled it the day after. At every crucial point the major issue has been subordinated to the immediate one; and while this has sometimes facilitated specific acts, it has left the country mentally and emotionally unready for the terrible decisions that face it today.

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So again, in his latest and most momentous speech, it was necessary to announce a course of action which emerges directly and inevitably from policies already approved and in effect. It is a course which, as usual, avoids the hazards that lie in the public mind and in Congress. To have faced those hazards by proclaiming a policy which met the full, fateful demands of the future —to have asked, in short, for a declaration of war— would have resulted almost certainly in a defeat in Congress and a probable rejection of the necessary next steps. No one can wish that the President had applied such all-or-nothing strategy.

What one can wish, with passionate regret, is that the President had prepared the American people for the war that will sooner or later emerge from the policy to which the country is now committed. Germany will, it is clear, continue to try to prevent war supplies from reaching Allied ports; its ships of war will shell or torpedo merchantmen, belligerent and neutral, and the American naval vessels which convoy them. And American warships will attack any German raiders they meet in the rather undefined waters under the protection of the fleet. Soon war will be in progress whether or not it has been "declared." But the American people, misled by the President's step-by-step tactics and by his attempt to limit discussion of American policy to the question of our safety and our rights as a neutral, are likely to believe that we are fighting because the freedom of the seas has been flouted and ships have been sunk by Nazi pirates. And this will be a profoundly serious error. For these are only superficial reasons why, today, we are moving into a naval war with Hitler.

The underlying reasons are both more important and more honorable. We have a right to protect our national interests—including the freedom of the seas. But we have an absolute obligation to protect the more fundamental freedoms which the President himself has so eloquently proclaimed. The extermination of those freedoms in all of Europe and the threat to exterminate them here and in Latin America can be our only true reasons for going to war. We may "remember the Greer" because the attack on the Greer helped to arouse us to the necessity of a more active role in the world struggle against fascism. But war against Hitler must be waged as a war for freedom and our democratic institutions— not for shipping.

Joining the Two Fronts

BY LOUIS FISCHER

London, September 14, by Cable

BRITAIN, I think, is now safe from invasion for at least the next five months if not for the duration of the war. What, then, is Churchill planning to do with his army and its munitions? He hesitates to put it on the Continent because it is not yet a fully trained or adequately equipped offensive force. Public sentiment is strongly opposed to adventures which may end in a heroic evacuation. Generals are aware of the criticism and witty jibes to which the army has been subjected; they don't wish to invite more by premature sorties overseas. Moreover, hitherto they have been able to argue that a large-scale landing on the Continent would require unceasing naval support which could be given only at the expense of British interests in the Battle of the Atlantic. America's new policy of convoying ships most of the way across the ocean may alter the weight of this consideration; nevertheless, it would be unrealistic for the Russians or others to base their plans on the formation of a second front in the near future. An early Libyan offensive, which is being bruited here, would not quickly influence the balance of forces in Eastern Europe.

Yet Moscow is clamoring for action. Litvinov contributes a telegraphed article to this week's *Reynolds' News* in which he lays down the "absolute principle" that "the efforts of the Allies may be divided in space but in no circumstances may they be divided in time." Just as Litvinov before the war advocated simultaneous, coordinated acts for the preservation of peace, he now demands simultaneous, coordinated acts to stave off defeat. Anything else, he affirms, "may have irreparable and fatal consequences to all the countries concerned— except Hitler, of course." And his last sentence is a pithy, ominous warning that humanity is following with deep interest "not only the military events on the eastern front but also the relations between the Allies." Soviet authorities likewise are chagrined by the delay of the tripartite Moscow conference. Stalin has never liked to be kept waiting by foreign powers. It has been hinted that he has the same alternative as that he adopted to his country's harm in August, 1939. I have just come home from an open-air Communist meeting on the square between the Ministry of Information and the British Museum; Harry Pollitt, speaking to the assembly, demanded an immediate second front, and said, "A second front may mean death to tens of thousands of Britishers, but if we are not ready to make sacrifices we haven't the right to expect the Russians to continue to fight."

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Several days ago Stalin told a caller that the situation on the Leningrad and central Ukrainian fronts was grave. I don't know whether this is a "line" or the truth; it may be both. Moscow must steer its communiqués and propaganda between the Scylla of optimism, which would induce people to say that Russia doesn't need help, and the Charybdis of pessimism, which would inspire "it's too late" talk.

While disinclined to stage a serious westward diversion for the Reichswehr, the British are not opposed in principle to raids, but since June 22 they haven't tried to imitate Lofoten. Last week's British descent on Spitzbergen wasn't really a raid, for the island was not enemy-occupied territory. The Royal Navy undertook the expedition at the request of the Soviet government, which wanted 1,900 Russian miners there brought home and was unable to do this itself. British ships called at Spitzbergen and took the Russians home, returned, fetched a thousand Norwegians, and landed them in Scotland. Before forsaking the Arctic island, the British blew up the wireless station and power plants, fired huge accumulations of coal, and destroyed all accessible property so that, it was stated, the Germans couldn't seize it. In a sense, therefore, this was another evacuation executed to forestall a possible Nazi initiative.

But the British are determined to go all out in the matter of supplies for the U. S. S. R. They have already transferred heavy aggregates of their American lease-lend weapons to Russia and will continue to do so, even though they are short themselves. They have also delivered more R. A. F. machines, as well as invaluable raw materials which Russia doesn't produce. The Anglo-American arsenals will manufacture the tools, and the Russians will fight. That is the likeliest division of labor on land. Whether the Kremlin will find this solution satisfactory is another matter.

The Red Army is consuming munitions so fast that I cannot see how shipments from England and America could make good these losses to any appreciable extent before next summer. Everything consequently depends on Soviet industry's ability to replenish the stocks of arms which the country has been accumulating for many years.

For the Allies the problem of supplies is complicated by the difficulty of communications. To date the best British approach to Russia has been through Archangel and Murmansk, approximately 1,800 miles. This Arctic lifeline loses some of its value in the winter and may be cut by military successes of the Germans. Attention, therefore, is concentrated on Iran. Here there is for Britain a sea trip around the Cape 15,000 miles long, and it is not much less for America, but the advantage of Iran is that it is relatively safe. Moreover, the arrival of materials in the Middle East would improve relations with Egypt and Palestine and exercise a good effect on Turkey. For while the winter won't stop the fighting in northern Russia, it will put a premium on fighting in southern Russia, and if the Crimea and the Caucasus are the next objectives, Bulgaria and Turkey will become centers of special interest. In recent months Turkey and Russia practically have not been on speaking terms, and intermediaries are striving hard to patch up relations—with partial success which sways with the tide of battle in Russia and the availability of British munitions in the Near East. A storm is brewing around the Black Sea.

Defense Stumbles On

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, September 14

THE coming week—this is being written on Sunday—will be an exciting one. It will see (1) the beginning of a campaign to make Wendell Willkie Secretary of State in the hope of sidetracking Sumner Welles and the cookie-pushers; (2) the filing of a consent decree which will save the major oil companies from the $1,800,000,000 suit brought against them under the Elkins Act by Thurman Arnold; (3) an attempt by Secretary Ickes to override SPAB's refusal to grant priorities on the steel needed to build that Texas–New York pipe line; (4) the revelation that Jesse Jones, a Shylock in dealing with ordinary business men, negotiated a contract with the Aluminum Company of America that gave it everything but a second mortgage on the White House, although it does not guarantee us more aluminum; and (5) the disclosure that although the transfer of $1,300,000,000 worth of war materials from stocks of the War and Navy departments and the Maritime Commission was authorized under lease-lend, only $97,000,000 worth has yet been shipped to our allies abroad.

Two other events-of-the-week will be the grilling of Floyd Odlum, new subcontracting chief, by the Truman committee, which smells Wall Street fire and brimstone in the appointment, and Leon Henderson's meeting with the automobile manufacturers to discuss further curtailment in automobile production. The latter will be worth

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watching for the part which labor may play in the conversion of automobile facilities to defense production. The latest word from Henderson's division today was that somebody from Hillman's division would probably be at the meeting with the automobile manufacturers to represent labor, and that there would be a full committee from Detroit headed by Walter Reuther but that it would not be called an "advisory" committee out of deference to the C. I. O., which is on record against advisory committees. Although a 26½ per cent cut in passenger-car production was ordered for August, September, October, and November, the increase in truck production during these first four months of the model year is so large that combined car and truck quotas for the four months are only 1½ per cent below last year. In August production ran almost 100 per cent above August of last year, and there is some fear that the automobile manufacturers may try to exhaust their quotas in less than four months and then threaten a complete shutdown as a means of bringing pressure on OPM to permit them to make more cars.

The automobile manufacturers, who have been building up huge inventories of raw materials, are now telling anyone who will listen that the shortage of raw materials has been very much exaggerated, and that if we had a system of "dated priorities"—which would keep the army and navy from building up similar inventories—we could ease up on the curtailment of car production. The situation has reached the point where Knudsen in a private conversation last week spoke very sourly of his industry. Not for some time, if ever, is he likely to say the same things publicly.

Henderson hopes that curtailment will force the automobile manufacturers to find defense uses for machines partially or entirely idle; many smaller manufacturers are already pulling machines out of assembly and production lines for the manufacture of ordnance, tank, and plane parts. Reuther still believes that the full potentialities of the industry for defense will never be realized until its machine power is pooled and its production planned for the period of the emergency, but no one in the top ranks of OPM has the courage to press the idea.

If SPAB, which has ordered an inventory of defense needs in terms of material, would also order an inventory of American machine capacity and its defense uses, the problem of conversion could be tackled on an organized and scientific basis. Some people here hope that Floyd Odlum will have the vision to fight for such an inventory as a means of speeding up the spread of orders and mobilizing machinery now idle or soon to be left idle by priorities. The outlook for the spread of orders is more hopeful than it has been for some time. The President, in setting up the new Odlum division only two weeks after Knudsen and Hillman had "reorganized" its subcontracting predecessor, is said to have shown a good deal of impatience and annoyance. The one weakness of the new executive order is that the War and Navy departments can still ignore Odlum's recommendations, and his effectiveness will depend on how much support the White House gives him. I am inclined to believe that not only the White House but many top men in both War and Navy, as distinct from the procurement officials in the lower ranks, are now convinced of the need for new methods in purchasing and production.

SPAB's refusal to allocate steel for that new Texas–New York pipe line was encouraging, but not so difficult a decision to make as it seemed to be. The hullabaloo about the oil shortage has served its purpose. The price of oil has gone up. Congress passed the Cole bill clearing the way for the Baton Rouge–Greensboro, and Chattanooga–Port St. Joe pipe lines, which are nearing completion. These lines, planned before the war, are the only ones the major companies really wanted. The companies used plans for the Texas–New York line, which they didn't particularly want, to get the pending consent decree from the Department of Justice. The suit which will be ended by the decree was a serious threat to the oil companies. They have been averaging 30 per cent a year on their investment in gasoline pipe lines, and it was the government's claim that all these earnings over a normal profit were really a rebate to themselves and a violation of the anti-rebate provisions of the Elkins Act. Triple damages can be collected under the act, and this was the first attempt to use it against the pipe lines. The companies argued that with this threat hanging over them they could not be expected to build new pipe lines, even with the RFC's money. If Ickes is wise he will get rid of his Standard Oil advisers, bring in a few independents, and watch his step in the future. He is a brave and good man, but the oil companies have made a sucker of him—again.

Not so big a sucker as Jesse Jones. If the President wants an effective defense organization, he had better pry Jones loose from control of Defense Plant Corporation. I have a copy of the contract between Jones and the Aluminum Company of America for an expansion of 400,000,000 pounds a year in aluminum production. I don't claim to understand all its complicated and tricky terms, but the government puts up all the money and takes all the risks. Alcoa loads a heavy share of its costs on the new plants under a complex pooling arrangement in such a way as to insure little profit on the government-owned plants, a wider share of profits on the old Alcoa plants. One of the extraordinary features of the contract is that Alcoa may limit production in these plants to as little as 40 per cent of their capacity. While Jones signed this kind of contract with Alcoa, he forced Reynolds Metals, Alcoa's tiny competitor, to mortgage its plants in the ordinary way to obtain government financing.

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The State as Boss

BY STERLING D. SPERO

LAST JUNE a strike on New York City's transit lines was barely avoided. The crisis was caused by the city's refusal to enter into a collective-bargaining agreement with its transit workers. In August Detroit's municipal transit system was tied up for five days by a strike growing out of the rivalry between an A. F. of L. and a C. I. O. union. The central issue was a demand for exclusive bargaining rights by the A. F. of L. union with which the city had had contractual relations for nineteen years. Shortly after the end of the Detroit strike New York City's Welfare Commissioner, William Hodson, refused a request for exclusive bargaining rights made by a union claiming to represent a majority of the Welfare Department's employees.

These controversies were not regarded as ordinary labor disputes. The demand for collective-bargaining rights which for the past few years has been considered fully justified when made by privately employed workers was looked upon as a challenge to public authority when put forward by city employees. The workers involved, their governmental employers insisted, were servants of the sovereign state, which could not "in its nature" treat them as equals to the extent of entering into collective-bargaining agreements with them.

Forty years ago a President of the United States attempted to carry this philosophy to its logical conclusion. He issued an executive order forbidding federal employees to seek to influence legislation in their own behalf, "individually or through associations, save through the head of their departments." His subordinates, taking their cue from the White House, proceeded to interfere with any efforts of their employees to join organizations of which they disapproved. The results were unrest, defiance, threats, and strikes, culminating in 1912 in the passage of legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor which guaranteed to federal employees the right to organize, to affiliate with outside labor organizations, and to seek legislation affecting their interests. State and local governments, with exceptions here and there, followed the federal policy. Unions of government employees maintained increasingly influential lobbies at every capital. Under pressure of the political power of the organized employees, legislation became the method of fixing standards and conditions in the public services.

As long as the public services were comparatively small and confined to the traditional functions of government, this system worked very well. However, striking changes have taken place in recent years, and the public services now provide the livelihood of more than 4,500,000 men and women (this, of course, does not include soldiers), one out of every nine workers in the land. Since 1933 the size of the federal establishment, at present comprising nearly 1,500,000 persons, has almost tripled. The City of New York alone now employs nearly twice as many persons as did the whole federal government when the merit system was adopted in the eighties.

The expansion of government functions which these figures indicate has been to no small extent in fields hitherto associated with private business. In the case of the TVA the government started a new undertaking of a kind previously left in private hands; in the case of the New York subways and the Cape Cod Canal the government took over an enterprise from its private owners. The industrial workers on these enterprises performed the same functions for the government that they had previously performed for private employers. Most of them continued their membership in the union of the trade or industry to which they had always belonged. All that was changed for them was the name of their employer. It was not unnatural for them to expect to deal with the new boss in ways proved effective with the old one.

The size and complexity of the public services today make the old method of dealing with personnel problems —through legislation and informal office contact—at once too rigid and too haphazard for satisfactory results. It is hard to think that a subway or power plant could be run efficiently with the workers constantly asking the legislature to compel the management to do this or to forbid it to do that. Under such circumstances all the civil-service reform in the world could not keep these enterprises from being honeycombed with politics.

The demand for collective bargaining is the logical outgrowth of these new conditions, and it has, in fact, been granted in many government establishments. Formal agreements covering wages, hours, working conditions, seniority, the handling of grievances, and other personnel matters are in force today in the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Inland Waterways Corporation, and the Alaska Railroad. The first two are government-owned corporations; the third is an agency of the Department of the Interior. Similar limited agreements are in force in such non-industrial agencies as the Securities and Exchange Commission, the United States Housing Authority, and the National Labor Relations Board.

From its beginning the TVA has conferred with em-

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ployee representatives on personnel policies. In 1935 the Authority's Board of Directors issued a "statement of employee-relationship policy" which, though unilateral in form, claimed with truth to be "in a real sense . . . a product of cooperative and collective effort." In line with this policy wage conferences have been held annually between representatives of the management and the employees, the latter being represented by the TVA Trade and Labor Council, a federation of fifteen construction craft unions of the A. F. of L. A summary of the results of these conferences, issued by the Authority, contains the following declaration: "These conclusions were reached in negotiations between authorized representatives of management and of labor. As such they are binding upon both groups. Otherwise the processes of collective bargaining have no real significance." In the summer of 1940 the TVA and the unions signed a formal agreement.

On the Alaska Railroad also a unilateral though consultative relationship has evolved into a formal collective-bargaining agreement. Now the general manager of the road signs formal agreements with the railroad brotherhoods covering transportation employees and with the American Federation of Government Employees covering the mechanical and maintenance-of-way departments, the government hotel at Curry, and telegraph, telephone, and clerical employees.

Employees organized in the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America (C. I. O.) and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (A. F. of L.) have agreements with such cities as Fairmont (West Virginia), Hammond (Indiana), and Reading (Pennsylvania), and with many small towns. In September, 1939, an agreement was signed between the latter union and the City of Philadelphia.

All these agreements represent an attempt to solve problems by mutual consent with due regard to the administrative peculiarities and the legal powers of the employing government agency. In Inland Waterways, where no civil-service merit system existed when the agreement was signed, a complete closed shop is provided. Some agreements cover wages; some include the check-off of union dues; some provide little more than machinery for handling grievances. In no case has the law been flouted, public authority undermined, or the public interest sold out through a "conspiracy of politicians and union leaders," as certain newspapers, viewing with synthetic alarm, expected.

All the formal agreements in force in federal agencies were concluded with full knowledge of a prior statement by the President concerning the limits of governmental collective bargaining. The President had said:

> All government employees should realize that the process of collective bargaining, as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service. It has its distinct and insurmountable limitations when applied to public personnel management. The very nature and purposes of government make it impossible for administrative officials to represent fully or to bind the employer in mutual discussions with government-employee organizations. The employer is the whole people, who speak by means of laws enacted by the Representatives in Congress. Accordingly, administrative officials and employees alike are governed and guided, and in many instances restricted, by laws which establish policies, procedures, and rules in personnel matters.

Limitations of this character are not peculiar to the public service. The Railway Labor Act prohibits a closed shop. Railway bargaining agreements therefore cannot provide for one. The Railroad Retirement Act sets up a pension system. Collective-bargaining contracts cannot interfere with it. In industrial employment the wages-and-hours law sets a ceiling for hours and a floor for wages. Later agreements cannot disturb them.

Many unions seek to apply to the public services devices and procedures developed to cope with problems in private industry which are not present in government employment. In private employment the closed shop serves the important purpose of preventing anti-union employers from systematically introducing non-union workers into their plants to undermine the organization and break down established standards. In public employment, however, when civil-service merit principles prevail, standards, whether determined by collective agreement or by statute, are publicly proclaimed and uniformly established. The closed shop or the compulsory union shop would not therefore have the same justification as in private industry, while its undesirable aspects—the tendency to perpetuate union administrations and lift them above rank-and-file pressure—would continue. The closed shop and the union shop are practical devices, not sacred principles. There seems no need to transfer them to public enterprises merely because they serve a purpose in private enterprise. The same objection would hold for the application within the public service of the compulsory check-off of union dues, a usual complement of the closed shop.

A third device, the exclusive bargaining agency, seems to be as useful in the public service as in private enterprise if its agreements go beyond the handling of grievances and set standards and procedures. Administrative necessity probably played as great a part in the development of this device as trade-union convenience. If the employing authority is to bargain, it must have a recognized agency to bargain with. The only practical bargaining agency is a majority group.

In the background of opposition to governmental collective bargaining there always lurks the issue of the strike. There is, however, no more relation between collective bargaining and strikes than between legislation and strikes. A strike threat led to the passage of the Adamson eight-hour law for railway workers in 1916.

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Strikes and strike threats were factors in the passage in 1912 of the act guaranteeing organization and lobbying rights to federal workers. Strikes are questions of power, not of legal right. When determined men regard their grievances as sufficiently great they will strike regardless of the word of the law. The Detroit transit strike took place in the face of an opinion of the Attorney General's; the New York transit workers voted to strike in spite of the city's explicit denials of their right to do so.

While unnecessary and undesirable union devices should be eliminated, it is doubtful whether such action would change the attitude of those public authorities who oppose collective bargaining. They regard their opposition as grounded on fundamental principles. In their view the concept of the sovereign state is opposed to that of a free labor movement. With the public service already employing one-ninth of all the wage-earners in the land and rapidly expanding, this view becomes a major threat to economic and civil liberties. If the labor movement permits the claims of the state to go unchallenged it will be consenting to that subordination of labor to governmental power which is a dominant characteristic of totalitarian society. If, like Samuel Gompers, it opposes the expansion of governmental activity as a threat to labor's freedom, it will contribute to social disintegration by limiting government's ability to meet the problems of the times. Those conscientious public officials who oppose their employees' demands for recognition as a threat to the social order might well consider the implications of their own position.

Our Goebbeled News

BY PETER D. STEVENS

IN THE *Atlantic Monthly* for September, Lowell Mellett says: ". . . there has been developing an American propaganda weapon that is certain to obtain results, notwithstanding it was not developed for that purpose and *does not actually deal in propaganda.* I refer to the *free* American press associations, the finest and fairest news-gathering and news-disseminating agencies in the world, and to the *free* American radio. In practically every country these two agencies have set a standard of truthful reporting . . ." (the italics are mine).

Mr. Mellett's complacency is dangerous, for as Director of the Office of Government Reports and executive aide to the President he is in a position to infect high quarters with his starry-eyed enthusiasm. Those of us who through bitter experience have been forced to adopt a more cynical view wish that Mr. Shirer or some other recently returned foreign correspondent could spend a week-end on the Mayflower and tell the President some of the facts of life—of the life of a reporter in Europe today.

This summer many Americans were surprised and annoyed to learn that the reporters for their favorite newspapers were not being allowed to see anything of the Russo-German war but were forced to sit in Berlin or Moscow and base their stories on the preposterous communiqués handed out by the general staffs or the ministries of propaganda. These stories were so obviously absurd and contradictory that the reporters' home offices had to explain what was wrong and that they were helpless. The situation was not a new one; for the past two years little if any news has come out of Europe except in a form and at a time which pleased some propaganda bureau. This means that since last winter, when practically all of Western Europe became German, news stories have had to be approved by Dr. Goebbels and timed to suit his purposes.

Those who have been doing the actual reporting in Europe say that our news gathering has been good "under the conditions existing." That phrase covers a multitude of sins of omission and commission. As a matter of fact, our news from Europe as a whole has been inadequate, inaccurate, and heavily weighted with the propaganda of Axis political warfare. A recent example was the story of the riots in Paris on August 13. According to one American news agency, the riots took place at the Porte St. Denis near the suburb of the same name, which is well known as a Communist quarter. All the hundreds arrested, it was said, were Jews. This story was read by millions of Americans, and went back to Europe via the short waves. Of course, the truth is that the Porte St. Denis is nowhere near the suburb of that name; and I am assured by an informant in France at the time that those arrested were average Frenchmen who detested the idea of France collaborating with the *Boche*. We were badly misled by the German decision to call all opposition "red," "Jew," or "Communist."

By serving the world with the Goebbels version of the Paris riots and other events in the belief that we are impartially broadcasting the news, we are in fact doing an excellent job for the Berlin Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment. Before this war our news reporting had a high reputation for honesty, and when this story reached the occupied countries via our radio it was very probably believed. Many millions of people may

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thereupon have said to themselves: "Since only Jews and Communists protest against Pétain's collaboration with Germany, most Frenchmen must be behind the New Order. If the French, a great and strong people, have given up, perhaps we too must cooperate or be exterminated."

The peoples on the continent of Europe already under the Nazi heel are as much a part of the defense of America as are the armed forces of Great Britain. If it is to our interest to send arms and ammunition to England, it is equally to our interest to supply honest news and encouragement to those millions who still resist behind the German lines. Radioing back to Europe Associated Press and United Press news which has been Nazi-indoctrinated at its source is little better than sending straight Deutsche Nachrichten Büro official reports. At the least such news should be carefully rewritten and the insidious German bias eliminated.

It is even more important that the American people should have their news free from the Goebbels retouching process, for unless they are informed of the true facts, they will be unable to make right decisions. After all, Congress does keep its ear to the ground, and President Roosevelt is especially sensitive to public sentiment; listening to it is essential to his conception of democracy.

Two kinds of censorship are in force in Europe today, "positive" censorship and "negative" censorship. Negative censorship forbids the sending of certain news because it is unfriendly or unfavorable to the censoring power or is of a military nature. Positive censorship demands that all reporters use the terminology of the regime; it insists that stories which in fact are mere maneuvers in the war of nerves be dispatched as news and that all news place the country and its leaders in a sympathetic light. These rules are not set down in black and white and correspondents are informed of them mainly by polite suggestion, but woe betide the man who violates their spirit.

Both of these types of censorship could have been considerably eased for our newsmen if their American employers and the State Department had upheld their rights with some vigor. When an American reporter in Germany or the conquered countries falls afoul of the propaganda chiefs and the police because he attempts to send out honest news, our State Department representatives put up no real fight for him. As a result he is either expelled from the country or bullied into compliance. It often happens like this: John Jones, representing the Amalgamated Press, has been sending "unfriendly" news or has failed to cable rumors and releases which the Propaganda Ministry wanted published. He gets a notice to appear before the police, receives an order to leave the country, and is given four days in which to get out. Jones assumes that our diplomatic representatives are there to protect him, his employer, and the right of the American public to get the news. He soon learns otherwise. Read William Shirer's entry in his "Berlin Diary" for December 30, 1935:

> Dodd called us [the press] in today for a talk with William Phillips, Under Secretary of State, who is visiting here. We asked him what action Washington would take if the Nazis began expelling us. He gave an honest answer. He said, "None." Our point was that if the Wilhelmstrasse knew that for every American correspondent expelled, a German newspaperman at home would be kicked out, perhaps the Nazis would think twice before acting against us. But the Secretary said the State Department was without law to act in such a case—a lovely example of one of our democratic weaknesses.

The situation has not changed since Mr. Shirer wrote. Last winter when I was in Southeastern Europe our diplomats would make no more than a half-hearted token protest when a newspaperman was expelled—usually for the crime of reporting the news with zeal and honesty.

Even more demoralizing than the State Department's attitude has been that of the employers of the correspondents. It is both expensive and disruptive to service for a paper or a news agency to have its representative expelled from a country. A new man must often be sent in from a distance. He has to make new contacts, redistribute largess to clerks in the Foreign Office and the Propaganda Ministry, settle into a new atmosphere, work in what is often a strange language. His employers may be without adequate coverage for some days or weeks. Because of these facts men who have not a great personal reputation are often made to feel that they will lose their job if they fail to get along with the powers that be in the country to which they are accredited. The agencies would doubtless deny that they ever threatened to fire a man for getting into trouble while trying to send the news, but last winter in Europe I asked some twenty American correspondents this question, "Do you think you would lose your job if you were kicked out of here?" and without exception they agreed that they very probably would.

Last November an American woman reporter was representing some Western papers in the Balkans. She was given a four-day expulsion order for not meeting the implied demands of positive censorship: she had rejected some stories released from government sources as "phony." Turning to our consulate for aid, she was kept sitting on a mahogany bench outside the consul's office for the best part of four consular days. During this period the consul had time to see some dozens of refugees; no doubt it was his duty to see them, but not, I venture, before admitting a representative of our press. Many of our diplomats look down snobbish noses at the

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press as "a gang of rumor-mongers and trouble-makers." In this woman's case the situation was complicated by the fact that she was not socially acceptable to the little English-speaking group of which the consul and his wife were leaders. On the last of her four days she was received very coolly by a vice-consul and told that nothing would be done. She had to leave the country.

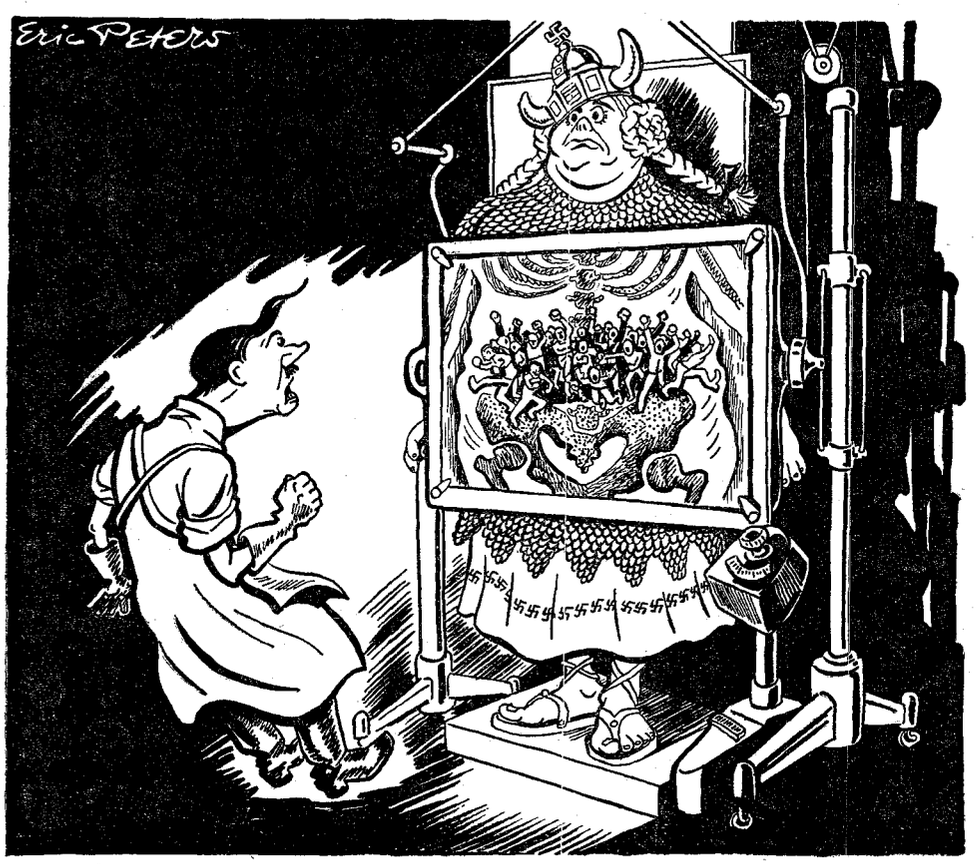
Early last winter Hugo Speck, then of the United Press, now of International News, was expelled from Turkey with no official explanation. He was told unofficially that he might have been too friendly with an Italian hotel proprietor, or possibly it was because he had been photographed shaking hands with the German Ambassador, Franz von Papen. The German ambassador in any country is a customary source of news for a correspondent. Speck begged the embassy to take the matter up with the Foreign Office in Ankara. It did little or nothing, and he had to leave Turkey. When an Englishman or a German is in this difficulty, his country demands an explanation, and barring some real transgression on the part of the reporter, usually gets the expulsion order rescinded.

Later last winter I remember being in a room of the Hotel Grand Bulgaria in Sofia with six American newspapermen. Among them they had unmistakable proof that the Germans were going to occupy Bulgaria with the consent of the Bulgarian government within six weeks. They knew that Foreign Minister Popov was conferring in Vienna with Ribbentrop on the details of the occupation. They knew that representatives of the German General Staff were in Sofia for the same reason. They knew what bridges were being strengthened for tanks, where the troops would enter Bulgaria, and even what barracks were being "modernized" for use by German troops. In order to send this information to America all these reporters had to do was to make a telephone call to Switzerland and have it radioed to New York—there was no censorship on the telephone. But not one of them dared send the news.

"Why should I send it?" one said; "I've a wife and kid at home and if I get bounced out of here I'll be out of a job. I've got to make a living, and those bastards down at the legation won't do anything for me and neither will the New York office."

The story of the approaching German entry into Bulgaria was given to Americans by their "free" press and radio three weeks later, when it suited Dr. Goebbels's puppets in Bulgaria to allow its release.

Don't blame the poor browbeaten correspondents. If they are cautious, it is because they must depend on an antiquated State Department with an appeasement worm at its core. It is also because they are employed by private enterprises trying to make a profit in a highly competitive field. If the news-gathering agencies pooled their news and their power to protect their men under the slogan "all the news or no news," we might not now have to swallow the fact that much of our news originates in the brain of Dr. Goebbels.



A New Disorder

Other countries, notably Germany and England, have special press attachés in their embassies and legations. We have commercial, treasury, naval, air, and military attachés, and others whose job it is to protect special American interests. Isn't the news worth protecting, too?

If we are a democracy we are ruled by public opinion. If our public opinion is to be enlightened, it must be fed on straight facts about events abroad. Is it not, then, every bit as much a governmental responsibility to see that we get foreign news uncontaminated by our enemies as that we get pure foods, prompt mail deliveries, or cheap electricity?

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Caribbean Headaches

BY W. ADOLPHE ROBERTS

CONSTRUCTION work is under way at all the Caribbean bases acquired by the United States from Great Britain except in the Bahamas, where a site on Exuma Island has just been chosen. The ninety-nine-year leases are considered equivalent to an outright cession of the territory, for never in history has land been returned to the power that yielded it upon the expiration of such an agreement—though often a wholly unforeseen disposition has been made of the lease at an earlier date. The problems offered by the new footholds are therefore permanently ours, and the United States government must seek their prompt and rational solution.

The Stars and Stripes were formally raised at Galleon Harbor, Jamaica, on April 4, and the local press, the labor unions, and political groups lost no time in amassing complaints. The wage scale for unskilled Jamaican workers was thought niggardly. Race discrimination was charged, and fear was expressed that this would increase until it brought about a social crisis. While the grant of the base was approved because of the protection provided and the Yankee money that would be spent in the island, the possibility of annexation was dreaded. There was resentment because the wishes of the Jamaican people about the details of the lease had not been consulted.

In Trinidad the reaction was similar, with perhaps a sharper edge of rancor owing to the tinge of Stalinism in the labor movement. The United States navy has taken over Chaguaramas Bay and islets adjoining the northern peninsula above Port of Spain, and army engineers have set thousands to work inland clearing away the jungle for two great airfields. These will not be ready before November unless actual war enforces a speed-up. Very little construction has been done as yet on the bases in Antigua, St. Lucia, and British Guiana, which are to be secondary service stations with facilities chiefly for seaplanes. But the Bermuda stations for both arms are far advanced, and there the work has been done with a minimum of friction.

The most irksome question everywhere is the basic one of human relations. By and large, Americans have not been tactful in handling the natives. In the British West Indies law and custom have developed a class system bearing little resemblance to the color line to which Americans are habituated. Pure whites form about 2½ per cent of the population, unevenly distributed. In some of the small islands less than 1 per cent is white. Persons of mixed blood, however, amount to nearly 30 per cent of the whole. For many generations there has been no strict demarcation based on color. Those who are almost white automatically belong to the upper class, but educated persons of any shade of complexion make their way in the professions, business, and politics, and are to a considerable extent accepted socially. Intermarriage is not uncommon, save between the extremes of light and dark. The only serious taboo is that set up by the light-colored, who are likely to shun the black peasantry and in their eagerness to be rated as white as possible play the sycophant to those paler than themselves. The intelligentsia and the new political and labor groups are comparatively free of this type of inferiority complex. There are no legal "Jim Crow" restrictions in the British Caribbean possessions. Exclusive clubs and hotels discriminate, but they do it cautiously. The mere rumor that an American firm in Jamaica had posted signs over its rest rooms, "For White," "For Colored," led N. W. Manley, chairman of the People's National Party, to protest vehemently and demand a law to prohibit such acts.

The United States officials have the right to make whatever regulations they please within the confines of the leaseholds. Foreign nationals, including the residents of adjoining territory, may not enter without permission. American lawbreakers within the zone are tried by the zone courts, though other offenders must be turned over to British courts. If Americans commit offenses outside the base, they are subject to British law but may be represented by American attorneys. Many of the island magistrates are Negroes, a fact which might be accepted calmly by a New Yorker but would anger men from the Southern states, especially in a case turning on a race quarrel. Unless the garrisons live under rules which make it unlikely that anyone will be taken into court on that issue, ugly hostility on both sides may be anticipated.

Many local workmen are being housed in barracks built by the United States government, while others come and go from villages under the British flag. All the important positions have been filled by whites so far, and the question of social equality has not arisen. But the touchy islanders have learned that American Negroes applying for jobs as bookkeepers at the Trinidad base were turned down on account of their color, and they fear that this forecasts a general policy of discrimination. The excuse given by the United States Civil Service Commission was that the British had "requested that we do not send any Negroes to the island."

While the Panama Canal was being dug, segregation of the races was enforced and was not formally resented

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by the Jamaicans and Barbadians who made up the mass of unskilled labor on that job. They were in a foreign country and they had no leaders. The same sort of thing at the Caribbean bases would stir up a good deal of bad blood, though I have no doubt the workers would swallow their resentment because of the pay. The animosity engendered, however, would spill over into the towns near the base sites, and unpleasant incidents might be expected.

The recruiting of labor, the wage scale, and the working conditions constitute the second major problem. There is, of course, frenzied competition for the jobs; unemployment has long been a curse in the colonies and since the outbreak of war has become acute to the point of calamity. The banana business in particular has been hard hit by England's recent decision to bar that fruit as a luxury, and thousands of plantation hands and dock workers have lost their only means of livelihood. The building trades are in a slump. Ill-disciplined, aggressive unions have tried to influence the American engineers, but it has been ruled that the Labor Adviser, a British official, shall pass upon all applicants and that the Americans shall hire workers from those whom he approves. Big money, according to the standards of the day, was paid for unskilled labor on the Panama Canal. Knowing this, the two million Negroes of the British West Indies have imagined that the minimum daily wage would now be $6. But they will find no such bonanza at the bases. Washington has declared that the best pay prevailing in a given locality will be met.

In Bermuda, a tourist resort and little else, money is fairly easy, and laborers get $2 a day. The moment the preliminary surveys started, it was announced that this would be the fixed wage at the naval and air bases and that applicants would have to register through the Bermuda Labor Board. A mass-meeting of workers was held, and an association to protect their interests was formed. But trade unionism, which might have developed the power to boost wages, was not seriously contemplated. There never has been unionism in Bermuda; indeed, on this occasion it was averred to be "un-Bermudian." Nor is there any political agitation worth mentioning. The colony has a form of representative government favorable to the upper classes and will accept any arrangement made by Britain and the United States, even annexation.

A sharp contrast is presented by Jamaica, by no means the poorest of the Caribbean colonies. Four years ago the Jamaican laborer was lucky to get 2 shillings a day, a little less than 50 cents according to the pre-war rate of exchange. Strikes organized by unions formed by Alexander Bustamante, an impromptu leader, swept the island in 1938 and 1939, and wages were slowly forced up to from 3 to 4 shillings a day. The best rate now being obtained by union members is 3 shillings and ninepence. This formerly would have been equivalent to about 90 cents, but with the pound sterling officially at $4.03¼ it has dropped to a little under 80 cents.

Meanwhile, the cost of living has risen at least 20 per cent as the result of war taxes, increased customs duties, and a shortage of shipping. Flour has gone from 3 cents to 4½ cents a pound, rice from 3½ cents to 5 cents, cornmeal from 3 cents to 4½ cents. Cooking oil used to be 24 cents a quart and is now 30 cents. Bacon has jumped from 30 cents to 45 cents. Condensed milk manufactured locally was always expensive at 14 cents for a twelve-ounce tin, and is now 18 cents. Kerosene oil, which most of the population use because they cannot afford electric lights, is 25 per cent more expensive.

Inquiries made before the work started at Galleon Harbor showed that the average rate in that neighborhood was 3 shillings a day. The American authorities wished to pay no more than that, but the British Labor Adviser persuaded them to raise the minimum to 3 shillings and ninepence. Native employers use this as an excuse for paying no more in any circumstances, and thus the Jamaican laborer's income is held at an utterly inadequate level, given the cost of living. A few skilled workers at the base, such as carpenters, are being paid £2 ($8) a week, chauffeurs receive somewhat less. I learned of a cook, black of course, a former chef on a passenger boat, who was offered only the minimum 80 cents a day.

A writer in *Public Opinion,* a Jamaican weekly, recently drew a parallel between the American bases in the Caribbean and those that have been established by the British in Iraq. He declared that in both cases the goodwill of the native population was necessary for what he called the "ground security" of the airplanes on station, and added significantly:

> The American base authorities, with the silent cooperation of the Jamaican government, could accomplish all that the British sought and lost in Iraq. By setting a fair and adequate wage scale the Americans would almost automatically cause an increase in wages throughout the island. . . . This would start a market for a number of small consumer industries (clothing, shoes, etc.), further decreasing unemployment and increasing the prosperity of the island. Also, the Jamaicans would be grateful to their American benefactors, thus guaranteeing by peaceful means the ground security of the bases.

In Trinidad the conditions are similar, with commodity prices about the same and a minimum wage somewhat less favorable to the local workman. However, more jobs have been created. Trinidad, it appears, is to be the major base on territory leased from Britain. Of an estimated $318,050,000 to be spent for development of the new defenses, nearly one-third, or $90,000,000, has been scheduled for Trinidad. The Chaguaramas Bay naval station alone will cost $49,955,000. Probably 8,000 la-

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borers will be steadily employed until the first of the year, after which date completion of part of the work will necessitate a reduction of the working force. An illustration of the low pay given native office helpers by Uncle Sam is found in the wages of draftsmen, who begin at $60 a month.

Trinidad labor unions are numerous and vocal, but not very effective. As in Jamaica, the English Labor Adviser has the last word in making all deals with the Americans. Political movements which got under way before the war are poorly organized. The Labor Party is considered a failure, and there is talk of replacing it with a Socialist Party. This is needed, according to one Trinidad critic, to "take working-class politics beyond the resolutionary stage." But it is too late for the popular will to have any effect on the terms under which the American leaseholds are operated.

The reluctance of persons in the lesser colonies to criticize or complain, particularly in writing, implies the existence of a fairly rigid censorship. I have sent many letters of inquiry and have received only the most guarded answers. A correspondent in Antigua states that the Americans "are following vicious local examples," with the excuse that "to pay more would upset local wage scales." Actually, the prevailing rate in both Antigua and St. Lucia is about 1 shilling (20 cents) a day. It was possible for a laborer to live on that before the war, but he can scarcely do so now. Rising prices and a shortage of cargoes from abroad have created a menacing crisis. There is nothing resembling trade unionism to protect the workers against exploitation. Nor is there any local employment worth mentioning. If Washington pays only a shilling a day, it is taking advantage of a meaningless technicality. It might better resort to the practices of a serf economy and distribute wholesome rations as the sole remuneration.

Another correspondent writes me that the press, except in Jamaica, has "evidently been warned to keep quiet." He adds that "in Trinidad the power of censorship is rather widely and arbitrarily employed." Ironically, the servant problem has become acute in Trinidad. The American officers and contractors, not being obliged to follow the rule about paying "prevailing rates" to their personal employees, have almost doubled the current wage for good domestics, and British housewives are in a frenzy.

I believe the base authorities would do well to revise the whole plan of labor relations in the West Indies. After all, Uncle Sam is going to be there a long time and cannot remain indifferent to the problem of social rehabilitation which the region presents. One might well expect a higher standard of social justice to be set by Washington. This would be generous, and in the long run better business than the acceptance of evil local precedents.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Facing Inflation—I

FIVE cents a dozen more for eggs, butter two cents higher, another rise in the price of pork chops; that is how the housewife learns about the effects of price inflation. But while the effects hit her squarely in the pocketbook, the causes probably elude her, for inflation is one of those abstract nouns which everyone uses but comparatively few understand. For one thing most people, remembering the German experience of the early twenties, make a mental association between inflation and immense issues of paper money. In this country we have seen a fairly sharp increase in currency circulation during the past year, but that fact is merely incidental to the threat that hangs over us. The quite simple cause of the price inflation which is coming, unless drastic steps are taken to check it, is the lack of balance between the amount of purchasing power at present in our collective pockets and the volume of goods available for purchase.

During the first seven months of this year national income was 15 per cent greater than in the same period of 1940, while income payments in the form of salaries and wages, which together account for the greatest mass of purchasing power, rose by 20 per cent. Now this increase in incomes was the counterpart of a corresponding increase in goods, but not of goods which the housewife would find, or want to find, in market. For the most part the expanded output consisted of factories, machines, tanks, guns, planes, and other war materials. There was some increase in consumer goods, for manufacturers of automobiles, household machinery, and some other articles were making hay before priority regulations cut down their raw materials, but this did not alter the fact that the nation's spending money was accumulating more rapidly than the supply of purchasable commodities.

Under such circumstances only the most violent interference will prevent the forces of supply and demand from exercising an upward pull on prices until they reach an equilibrium point where the reduced purchasing power of the community will be just sufficient to absorb the diminished supply of goods. If we lived in a society where incomes were equalized, the burden of scarcity could be fairly divided by leaving prices to supply and demand. As things are, however, price inflation brings great hardships to some people but fortunes to others. There are many groups whose incomes are fairly rigidly fixed; their purchasing power and their standards of living must decline as prices rise. Other groups are able to keep their incomes at least in step with higher living costs, and a few people are in a position to reap profits which put them far ahead of the game. But in the long run, as Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau pointed out the other day, no group in the community profits from inflation "except the Three Horsemen—the Speculator, the Profiteer, and the Hoarder."

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Nearly everyone agrees that it is the government's job to do something about inflation, but all too many of us think that Washington should crack down on the other fellow. The farmers are heartily in favor of price ceilings on industrial goods and of frozen wage levels, but they want Mr. Henderson to keep his hands off farm commodities—at any rate until they have risen a good deal higher than they have already. The trade unionist insists that there must be no interference with wages, and almost every business man is certain that while it may be all right to crack down on some industries there are good reasons for allowing him to put up his prices. The truth is that the government can hardly hope to grapple successfully with the problem of inflation unless all groups of citizens exercise some restraint. The housewife who indulges in panic buying, filling up cellar and closets, the farmer who lobbies against the release of government wheat stocks, the worker in a key position who presses for steadily increasing wages, the merchant who expands his profit margin, the industrialist who exacts a scarcity price—each of these is adding to the impetus of the inflationary spiral.

Hitherto the Administration, lacking adequate sanctions for a price-fixing policy, has sought to discourage inflationary moves by controlling prices of a few key commodities. It is now seeking legislation, but its present proposals do not touch wages and would permit considerable elasticity to agricultural commodities. Personally, I think that there is a good deal of merit in the argument that a stable price level can hardly be secured if farm products, which play a star role in the cost-of-living index, and wages, which are an element in all costs, are left out of account.

But in any case I doubt whether price-fixing by itself, however widely applied, is going to save us from inflation. It will not cure the fundamental fact that we have a growing volume of purchasing power competing for a shrinking volume of goods. Under such circumstances attempts to restrict the prices of scarce commodities may very well result in their disappearance from normal trade channels and their reappearance in "black markets." Even the Nazis, with all their apparatus for stringent enforcement of price regulation and their eight years' elaboration of economic controls, have not been able to suppress illegal trading entirely. We can illustrate what is likely to happen here by considering the position of refrigerators, the production of which is likely to fall far below demand during the next year. The price at the factory and the store may be fixed, but if the retailer has two or three customers clamoring for every unit he can secure, he is probably going to find some method of charging a premium.

Mr. Morgenthau, in the speech at Boston already mentioned, suggested two other angles of approach to the problem of securing a balance between purchasing power and goods which are well worth consideration. In the first place, he proposed that measures should be taken to increase the available quantity of goods on the market where this would not interfere with the defense program. It was absurd, he pointed out, that the consumer should be penalized by artificial scarcities. Wheat, cotton, and other farm commodities have risen well beyond the point where producers can claim they are receiving an inadequate return, in spite of the fact that there are enormous stocks within the country. It is time that the government released part of the reserves which it took off the market when prices were unduly low. The ever-normal granary cannot operate as a one-way street.

The second approach involves further attempts to curtail purchasing power by means of additional taxation and increased savings, voluntary or compulsory. But I must defer discussion of these problems until my next article.

In the Wind

JUST BEFORE Mayor LaGuardia, as civilian-defense chief, suggested that filling stations on the eastern seaboard resume night operations, an assistant to Secretary Ickes called a meeting of interventionist leaders in New York. Representatives of Fight for Freedom, the Committee to Defend America, and several other groups were told that the isolationists were making political capital of the gas situation and that it was up to the interventionists to strengthen civilian morale on this question. The government man had a statement in support of the curfew which he wanted those at the meeting to sign, but they considered it too weak-kneed and drew up a stronger one of their own. Two days later LaGuardia returned from Washington and announced that it was no longer necessary for the stations to remain closed at night.

FROM A DISPATCH to the New York *Post* by Vincent de Pascal of Buenos Aires: "High Uruguayan sources here believe President Alfredo Baldomir of Uruguay may execute a coup d'état in the interest of democracy. According to these sources he would dissolve Congress, proclaim a dictatorship, and put through the constitutional reforms which the pro-Nazi Herrerista opposition has blocked."

FROM AN EDITORIAL in *Social Justice* for September 1: "If and when a shooting war eventuates, it is our belief that Catholic draftees will lay down their arms and become conscientious objectors to a Communist alliance."

THE NAVY DEPARTMENT has been testing the effectiveness of professionally handled advertising campaigns for winning recruits. Three inland states—Iowa, Indiana, and Missouri—were selected by Barton, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn for a summer campaign, and the final reports show that recruiting was tripled over May, the month before the drive started.

JOSEPH CURRAN, of the Maritime Workers, and Representative Vito Marcantonio, both of whom remained isolationists for some time after the Communist line changed, have finally indorsed the new party line. Only Michael Quill among the pro-Stalinist labor leaders has failed to execute the latest turn.

[*The $5 prize for the best item received in August goes to M. R. of New York for his story on the Ku Klux Klan, published on August 23.*]

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

War Scars the Mountains

THEY are not talking much, the people who are supervising the digging up of the laurel. It is a new cash crop in the North Carolina mountains now that brier roots for pipe bowls are not coming from Italy and France. The hard, burled roots are shipped in blocks to New York and New Jersey to be made into the polished bowls of pipes. It's a new chance for a new industry. But there are people who have seen the big mountains in bright flower who are disturbed.

There are no such mountains anywhere else in eastern America. They have lacked the poets to praise them that New England's hills have had. But in North Carolina, where the laurels are being dug up, there are twenty peaks that rise higher above their green and blue slopes of conifers than New England's Mount Washington rises. There are gorges which only the noon sun can find; there are cliffs so precipitate that they would make a buzzard dizzy "iffen he flew offen 'em." The high springs let loose the lively water in which the trout swim down to the creeks and the rivers by cascade and fall, through misty canyon and steaming glen, to the flat valleys full of corn and sun. But the beauty is not merely rock and rise, swift stream over high stone, altitude and the awe of distances. The earth is spectacular by the roadside in June when rhododendron and laurel and azalea run like flame and coolness, too, in almost a waste of flowering.

It is not being wasted any more. Getting out the big, twisted laurel roots is hard work, but four mills at least are waiting for them at different points close to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, to which more tourists come than to any other national park in America. One was recently working double shifts. Mountaineers are getting from $1 to $2.25 a ton for the roots, and that's a lot of money up by Burnsville and Boone, where there is almost as much poverty as beauty. Also a ton of roots is a lot of laurel. If they keep digging them up, much of the beauty beside the new and magnificent Blue Ridge Parkway, which the federal government is running across the mountain tops, will be shipped to Brooklyn.

"So far," said a man who went to study the situation for the state, which is interested in tourists as well as in pipe bowls, "the digging has been back from the main roads."

Proper harvesting of even so lovely a bush as the laurel is possible, as the Forest Service has indicated by the regulations on its lands. Also this attack on the laurel may be limited to the duration of the war abroad. Laurel roots, mountaineers say, were dug before, when the last great war got between smokers and imported pipes. But the pipes which have been made from the laurel roots are good-looking pipes and good-smoking ones. A new industry may be a lasting one. On private lands no law compels the preservation of public scenery. And even if the laurel, with the rhododendron and the azalea, seems to run everywhere, twisted and intertwined, across the mountains, long cutting, careless cutting, might do great damage to one of the loveliest lands left in America.

I suppose it is a little thing in this present world. So many things are being uprooted and cut down that there will be little disposition to worry about the laurel. They would be beautiful mountains still if all the flowers were cut away from their slopes. But this pipe-bowl business must be only one of many similar things which are happening to the American land while the country keeps its eyes on war, and while war keeps away from these shores things which once came from abroad.

"There will always be an England," they have been telling us. I am sure of it. There will undoubtedly always be an America, too. But before this war began we were beginning to learn that even in peace poor men intent on labor and rich men intent on gain could make terrific changes in the landscape which used to be America. We had almost cut down the forests before we began to cherish them. There are naked mountains now, not many miles away from the places where the laurel is being dug up, which stand like pinnacles of destruction. And all around those mountains in America there are still scars where the haste and hungers of the last great war did their work. We shall have to be wiser if it does not happen again.

I hope we shall be wiser. Perhaps I worry too soon about a very little thing. The laurel is a long way off. It is not blooming now. There are many other things, more important things, to be disturbed about. But I have seen it blooming. Some millions of other Americans have ridden the new roads to see the old flowering. It is important as symbol, I think, even now of the America we really mean to defend. This will be America, of course, when all the laurel is cut down, but not the one we knew and had a right to enjoy and to save.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Red Thirties

THE RED DECADE: THE STALINIST PENETRATION OF AMERICA. By Eugene Lyons. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.

THE strange phenomenon of which Mr. Lyons is the recorder is undoubtedly worthy of the painstaking historical labors he has devoted to it. His story is the account of the curious aberration in left circles which made the corkscrew turns of an unstable Russian foreign policy authoritative not only for political groups under the influence of Stalinist communism but for intellectuals as well. While Mr. Lyons, as he himself admits, is not exactly the ideal historian for this curious undercurrent in American life, he is certainly a competent one. Ever since he lost his own faith in Russia and recorded his disillusionment in "Assignment in Utopia," he has criticized with relentless tenacity the more stubborn credulities of his fellow-journalists and other molders of opinion and recorded their subsequent tardy apostasy with mounting scorn. While his mood betrays him into occasional injustices, particularly in his assessment of motives, it cannot be denied that his mastery of the subject gives him a special right to be the historian of the "red decade."

Part of his volume is devoted to an analysis of Russian foreign policy proving that Russian national interests primarily determined the various changes from a strictly revolutionary condemnation of all capitalist governments, through a discrimination between fascism and democratic capitalism in the Litvinov period, to a return to the original position with the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact. The newest phase, with its rediscovery of "democracy" subsequent to the Nazi invasion of Russia, is naturally not treated fully, since the book was essentially completed before that event. The publishers inserted a prophecy in a footnote which the author had deleted after the invasion. It read:

> The chance of Stalin turning against Germany seems, at this writing, remote; the chance of Hitler turning against Russia seems exceedingly real. In either case the American Peace Mobilization will either fold up or reverse its line. So we may still have the thrill of hearing Paul Robeson sing, and Vito Marcantonio shout, and Mike Quill bluster for America's entry into the war.

Chapters devoted to the Communist Party in America trace the subservience of that organ to Russia from the time Stalin took the party out of the hands of Lovestone and Gitlow, who controlled 90 per cent of its membership, and placed it under the leadership of Foster and Browder. The author's characterization of the leading officials of the party is based on very considerable detailed knowledge and is usually shrewd, sometimes maliciously so.

That a political party, ostensibly devoted to an international revolutionary movement but actually the instrument of the foreign office of a foreign power, should be able to function with relative impunity and success in our nation is, as Mr. Lyons frequently reminds us, a phenomenon so unique as to require the most careful analysis. It is not completely unique in history. The Catholics in Queen Elizabeth's England had difficulty in obtaining toleration chiefly because a small group among them were actually conspiring for a Spanish victory over England. There may be other similar examples. Yet when the history of this era is written, the simple credulities of the Communist faith which gave Russia the benefit of foreign legions in all the nations of the Western world will be regarded as one of its most significant phenomena.

Mr. Lyons rightly devotes the greater portion of his historical analysis, not to Russia or the small party apparatus, but to the general temper on the left which made it possible for a party obviously under the control of a foreign power to maintain so wide an influence and to give its glaring inconsistencies such a measure of plausibility. He is properly full of scorn for the "innocents" who believed in Russian "democracy" despite all the evidence to the contrary, who hailed the Russian constitution as the last word in free government only a moment before Stalin made a laughing-stock of them by his purges, and who protested against any identification of Russian and Nazi dictatorship only a few weeks before the two dictators came together and Molotov declared like or dislike of Nazism to be a matter of "taste." In trying to understand them he decides "they were more deserving of pity than of ridicule, for only men tortured by a terrible thirst could have lapped up putrid ditch water with such relish." That observation, which Mr. Lyons applies to the innocent tourists in Russia, is a fairly accurate description of the whole leftist intellectual movement which revolved around the Russian center; if elaborated, it would explain a great deal in the spiritual climate of the decade chronicled.

The weaknesses of Mr. Lyons's account spring from the animus with which he views the scene. He is entitled to his scorn when he records the belated confessions of journalists who made a virtue of having refused to believe the truth until history overwhelmed them. Yet even in such cases he frequently attributes motives which some of us know to be false. He is also unfair in recording the too credulous acceptance of Russian claims without giving credit for subsequent criticisms. I cite only one case. He makes much of George Counts's original devotion to the Russian cause and says nothing about the strenuous work Counts has done to purge the Teachers' Union of Communist control. If a personal reminiscence is permissible in a review, I remember attending a dinner at which the Russian Ambassador and at least a dozen and a half of those very intellectuals were present about whom Mr. Lyons leaves the impression that they remained uncritically loyal to Russia until the signing of the pact. The dinner was held after the second series of Russian trials, and actually almost all those present grilled the Russian Ambassador mercilessly; the poor man could offer no explanation but the unsatisfactory official story. It is true that one ardent lady finally called a halt to the proceedings by declaring that we didn't know enough about Russia to cast

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doubt upon the official version and that in any case to doubt it would be to aid and abet the fascist foe; therefore she appealed to the "will to believe." It was a remarkable performance, in perfect conformity with many similar instances cited by Mr. Lyons. But the great majority of the participants were merely amused.

In regard to Mr. Lyons's severe criticism of the two liberal weeklies (*The Nation* comes off slightly better than the *New Republic*), it must be said that it is hardly fair to identify the views of one or two of the editors of those journals with the views of the whole staff, particularly when the chief editors were critical of Russian pretensions for many years. In each case the impression is left that the magazine followed the Russian line until the Nazi-Soviet pact. As a matter of fact, the correspondence columns of both weeklies were filled for some years with protest from comrades and fellow-travelers against their critical attitude toward Russia. I have the evidence in my files that *The Nation* was publishing reams of criticism of Stalinism in a period in which Lyons accuses it of being completely compliant.

A final form of the author's unfairness is his failure to do justice to the fact that many of us who were active in organizations standing for "collective security" had no illusions about Russia or about the motives of the comrades who cooperated with us. Some of us spent considerable time trying to prevent the Communists from gaining control of these organizations, though it must be admitted that this was a pretty difficult task. We did not leave these organizations in disillusionment when the pact was signed. The Communists left at the bidding of the Russian master. Our experience will make us less eager to engage in a united front with local Communists now that international strategy demands a united front with Russia. But the facts and the motives were a little more complex in the "red decade" than Mr. Lyons assumes.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Town Mouse, Country Mouse

THE LISTENING LANDSCAPE. By Marya Zaturenska. The Macmillan Company. $1.75.

POEMS 1930-1940. By Horace Gregory. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

MISS ZATURENSKA is the country mouse, in the sense that Marie Antoinette was a shepherdess. How did the pastoral first enchant Miss Zaturenska? One sees her, perplexed with this sick disease of modern life, standing in the subway reading "Finnegans Wake"; she frowns; across sits Einstein reading the "Anti-Dühring"; he frowns; it is like a nightmare. A schoolgirl begins to recite her homework, "Corinna's Gone A-Maying." Word by word, stanza by stanza, the repose and order of the pastoral settle over Miss Zaturenska's troubled mind, over Miss Zaturenska's feverish spirit, like a wet blanket. Joyce, Einstein, Engels fade away, are quite forgot; the subway is a mass of ivy. Miss Zaturenska goes home, sits down among her geraniums, and writes a pastoral; another; she sits there to this day, like the salt-mill at the bottom of the ocean, grinding out pastorals.

Miss Zaturenska is as efficient as a sheet of carbon paper. She includes reasonably exact facsimiles of all the physical properties of pastoral, excludes any embarrassing interference from actuality, and hopefully supposes that she has attained the classical order that has fascinated her. But the classicism of exclusion is academicism; the real strength and use of pastoral are what Miss Zaturenska, obsessed with the trimmings, never guesses. All these clouds, marbles, legends, ferns, and nymphs ("by Fragonard") are only bystanders, innocent, unemployed, unemployable; their *esse* is purely *percipi,* they are powerless as a mirage. (I made up a motto for Miss Zaturenska: Every Man His Own Poussin.) Her curious literalness—combined with an unreflecting facility for language, the immediate, approximate, and smothering word—make her read, generally, like a rather good translation; she reminds one of the man who played the violin "by main force." Miss Zaturenska reads Auden and Yeats (once or twice they shake her branches like a breeze), yet she is satisfied with the stalest romantic diction— "Elysium-echoes of far worlds unborn," and so forth. She is handicapped, for poetry, just as Santayana was: by not having spoken English as a child. And she is regrettably literary—one picks one's way through a landscape full of painters and authors and goddesses; her *tableaux* are less *vivant* than Tussaud.

But Miss Zaturenska has obvious virtues: force, emotion, sweep, some amount of form; her poems often have a real subject, are recognizably hers, really get somewhere. Her pieces are like stage scenery, imposing and successful to the glance, coarse to a closer look: approximations. Poems like "The White Dress" or "Forest of Arden" show her at her rather disquieting best; they are rough and evitable successes —the work of a poet who has a real talent, but not for words.

Everyone is familiar with the romanticism of the far away and long ago; but what is today a more popular kind goes almost unrecognized—the exoticism of the ticker-tape, let me call it. Crane said that poetry must assimilate the machine, metropolitan existence; this sort of romanticism *exploits* the machine, and considers intrinsically valuable the showily topical and megalopolitan terms it translates everything into. Mr. Gregory (a mouse from Twenty-third Street) tells you that Macbeth embezzled, the market fell, his life insurance went to the banks; this is the strategy, intensive and extensive, of his most typical poems. "Ticker tape/on private yachts: ring them up on the cash register/cable them" will show how concentrated and wilful such imagery often becomes. Unfortunately, the modernity of its terms does not guarantee the truth or even the modernity of an insight. Imagine a writer of the '90's who conscientiously put everything in the latest metropolitan terms—bicycles, incandescent lamps, street cars—and you will see how much power, in themselves, such things keep after a generation. This whole fashion of writing (and it has been enormously fashionable) rests on a variant of the old fallacy that there are classes of words or objects which are themselves poetic. The romantics had failed before, had to escape from, the modern world: they had employed, as much as possible, "poetic" words and objects; what they rejected as anti-poetic—the mechanical, the sordid, the prosaic—was perhaps a sure means to success? A fortuitous collocation of the anti-poetic (plus, for emotion or profundity, the same old romantic and sentimental excesses) was too many poets' solution of the problem of how

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to express the modern world. It was a mistake, of course; to the Muse of Poetry—a neutral monist from way back—Crane's burnt match skating in a urinal is just another primrose by the river's brim.

For poems like these Mr. Gregory employs a suitable rhetoric composed largely of parodied quotations, tags, literary clichés, mixed with slang or advertising or tabloid banalities, non-literary clichés. He gets both from his main source, Eliot; the second also derives from Joyce, Cummings, and Crane. His use of this rhetoric is heavily ironic; the automatic undifferentiating irony of many of the poems is full of the easy "disillusionment" of the '20's, the favorite defense mechanism of the sentimentalist. It is the debunker's attitude: we're all rotten, what's the good of anything? Well, what's the good of this sort of irony? Marx said that he had stood Hegel on his head; often Mr. Gregory has simply stood Pollyanna on her head. Right side up she accepts all, upside down she rejects all. And her inversion is disconcertingly inconsistent; the irony and disillusionment are never extended to the poet's own sentimentality, or to the past with which the present is unfavorably compared. The Cummings-like sentimentality of the earlier poems (a consumptive lover "coughs the moon and a gallon of stars") persists throughout the book; the embarrassingly romantic and sentimental are Mr. Gregory's Mount Sinai, a haven that is the source of all ultimates. This is natural; sentimentality and cynicism (or brutality) are complementary excesses. Mr. Gregory is Whitman on a spot—the spot being contemporary New York. The old confused and rhapsodic acceptance no longer is possible, is broken up or overlaid by an equally confused rejection; we still get all the lists' details, but ironically presented as decadence, and it is only by a sort of temperamental sleight-of-hand that the poet manages to rise into emotional acceptance. (Mr. Gregory's favorite model for passage-work is the conclusion of "Gerontion." Eliot uses an illogical series of terms so well selected that they generate their own emotion, a whole attitude; most imitators make a list and paste on an emotional conclusion.) Mr. Gregory even seems to admire this confused acceptance in other people: he speaks of "wide-breasted Whitman" (surely so ironic a poet might have said "soft"), and Emerson, at least in these poems, seems his favorite writer—subject too.

Some of Mr. Gregory's poems have merely appeared in the *New Yorker;* others are *New Yorker* poems: the inclusive topicality, the informed and casual smartness, the flat fashionable irony, meaningless because it proceeds from a frame of reference whose amorphous superiority is the most definite thing about it—they are the trademark not simply of a magazine but of a class.

Mr. Gregory's radicalism—I am talking not about his personal beliefs but about their manifestation in his poetry—seems to me more a sentiment than a body of ideas, something the age furnished him just as it did his irony or his prosody. There is more social sympathy (Mr. Gregory knows and cares about poor and ordinary people) and social satire (a radical point of view is a great additional source of irony) than social insight in the poems. His radicalism is contradicted by his Whitmanish acceptance, his Eliotish insistence on the inferiority of the present; but these are so much stronger one hardly notices or cares about the contradiction.

Most of Mr. Gregory's poems do not have regular meters, line lengths, or stanzas; any poet knows how hard it is really to organize a poem without these. But his feeling for speech and tone, his real selectivity, plus his absolutely magnificent rhymes, do manage to hold his poems together surprisingly often. The rhythmical flow of the poems, which in his middle period is broken up into a fashionable sort of stream-of-consciousness *collage,* is restored in the fantastic reveries of the later poems, monologues of a queer improbable verisimilitude, full of the "feel of the times."

I have talked so much about Mr. Gregory's weaknesses because they are fascinating to me, so beautifully representative; but he has most of the representative virtues of the time as well. He belongs more to the conversational-colloquial half of modern poetry than to the rhetorical-obscure half; his textures often have the particularity and precision and bareness of successful prose. He is an accomplished, sensitive, and complicated poet; honest, too: he never fools his readers without fooling himself. I found his poems much better than I had remembered, and felt for them much respect and a little enthusiasm. But one must not make out too imposing a case for his poetry: there is something curiously passive and automatic about even his individuality, as if he were the age's Trilby. His poetry is the sort the next age will take only at a tremendous discount. Probably he has been overrated; but he is a rather creditable sort of poet to overrate; anyone who can write poems as good as his best ones—"Interior: the Suburbs," for instance—deserves one's affection or awe. RANDALL JARRELL

There Is Yucatan!

YUCATAN. By Lawrence Dame. Random House. $3.

THE FOLK CULTURE OF YUCATAN. By Robert Redfield. University of Chicago Press. $3.50.

THE AZTECS OF MEXICO. By George C. Vaillant. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $4.

REVOLUTIONS are made by men as they are, and they seek to guide men who are not ideal. Revolutions, in crashing out of the present, collide with the framework of the past, and that framework rarely turns out to be frail or brittle. Sometimes, though very rarely, the persistence of the past aids a revolution: when their lands were restored to the Mexican Yaquis, it was found that five centuries of oppression and hostility had not destroyed their communal thinking and their collectivist techniques. The changed techniques of production are far more important than the new status of property, for in a very definite sense a revolution is a change of production method. It is made for that purpose, and it fails if the change is not achieved. The three books under review all contain powerful stimuli to thought about revolution and reform.

Mr. Dame is a Boston journalist. His book has almost all the faults a travel book can have, and yet it not only powerfully asserts itself as one reads but vigorously survives in one's memory. Mr. Dame is no Tomlinson describing a monotonous and safe Amazon voyage in prose that has the gorgeousness and intricacy of a tropical forest. Any one passage in his book appears flat, heavy-footed, yet without

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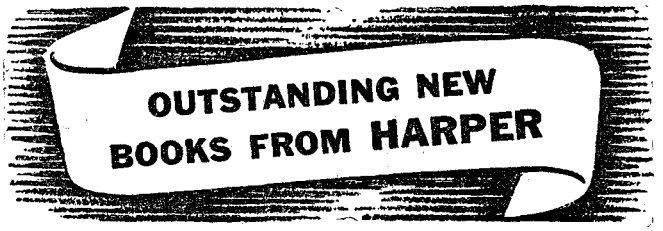
compensatory thoroughness. He is politically naive and sometimes invites one to be nostalgic for the days of the Yucatan millionaires. And he does not know whether consistently to deplore the disease and the malnutrition, the unadorned crudity of present-day Mayan life or to recommend its idyllic peace. But one virtue Mr. Dame's book does possess and it is the vital one, without which no travel book is worth paper and ink. Mr. Dame has a burning enthusiasm for Yucatan.

And what a place it is! Chichen Itza covers almost the area of London, and though one must not think of the ruins as once a city in the sense that London is a city, their size is even more astonishing when one bears in mind that it was principally a theological center, existing for religion. The Mayan people were already in hopeless decline when the Spaniards came. No one knows why: perhaps because the colossal burden of tribute to the gods and the priesthood broke the popular will or stirred revolt, perhaps because the clash of the Aztec theology with the Mayan, despite apparent fusion, undercut the props of belief. It has been suggested that the agricultural technique exhausted locality after locality, causing the Mayans ever to move on, carrying upon their backs an impossible burden of religious duty. An army or a people marches upon its stomach. But it cannot crawl forever beneath whole cordilleras of temples, beneath continents of carved limestone. A little old man squatting in a ruined temple in Uxmal told me the Mayans had been driven out by hordes of hydrophobic bats—and even this fantastic theory has one tiny grain of plausibility. But there is Yucatan, $75 away, a land where the Mexican Revolution has conspicuously failed. Though it is not his purpose, Mr. Dame tells you something of the problems the revolution had to meet.

Mr. Redfield's scholarly volume is not concerned with evaluations but with the discernment of cultural horizons and the disentanglement of contributing streams. This is done with subtlety and competence, and the result is a book which anyone interested in the Mexican Revolution definitely ought to read. Mr. Redfield takes four cultural centers as types of historical development: Mérida, the center of an urbanized fusion of Spanish and local culture, with the Western predominating; Dzitas, a railroad town in which the Mayan folk culture is strong, but yielding and considered inferior; Chan Kom, a fairly progressive village in which the native elements are vigorous and respectable; and Tusik, a pure and very belligerently independent community of the "jungle" Maya. In all, the technique of maize cultivation is the same, though other elements differ widely. This fact forces one's political attention upon the true nature of the *ejido* as the basis of Mexican agrarian reform. The *ejido* idea has been a failure in the remoter regions of Yucatan because in the great "unpossessed" areas there was no revolutionary incentive to the acquisition of land. A *milpa,* or cornfield, could be burned out of the common forest and held subject only to easy clan controls and religious laws. The revolution has not been without effect in Chan Kom. A school has been established, and a fairly rapid secularization of ideas as to causality has occurred. But the granting of an *ejido* has not caused the remote *milpa* patches to be abandoned. Only a mechanization of the *ejido* or some other means of raising its yield, such as its extension and fertilization, could have done that.



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The whole problem of the re-creation of a people's character can be studied through Dr. Vaillant's superb account of the rise and fall of the Aztec nation of the Mexican highlands. "The Aztecs of Mexico" is not merely the best general account of that tremendous sequence of events but so far as I know the first really competent effort to cover the whole ground. The fruits of long research in the field are summed up here and incorporated in a body of knowledge derived from a thorough survey of documentary sources. The book, despite its necessary difficulty, is marvelously good reading for the layman. Mr. Dame, an enthusiastic visitor, is skeptical of the revolution. Dr. Vaillant adopts a different attitude in the brief section in which he refers to recent events.

The Aztec system of land holding had permitted possessive privileges to a certain few, who were distinguished by function. The land in general, however, was a national possession, administered and parceled out by the clan for "individualist" working. The Spanish administration, then at the height of its centralist phase in Spain, did not recognize communal property and arbitrarily stabilized the existent distribution upon the basis of personal title, thus disrupting the entire economy. Chiefs became landlords where they had been public stewards. But this was not all. Lands were granted to Spaniards, and with lands, rights to labor. "Most of the Indians lost their land and labored on haciendas or in the mines," Dr. Vaillant says. Later centuries completed the process. The Indian's will to live was virtually broken. The revolution has begun to restore Mexico to the Indians, or, in the author's words, "Lazaro Cárdenas has made superhuman efforts to drag the Indians out of bondage into participation in the active and political life of the country." The *ejido,* the granting of land in usufruct, in a certain sense recreates the old forms, at the same time investing them with new meanings. Most of the difficulties have been those attendant upon failure to localize, as it were, the federal state, so that it might substitute for the vanished tribe or clan. The intensification of local cultural activity and the localization of economic aid, aiming at an increase of individual and communal sense of purpose, is what the Mexican land reform needs. Dr. Vaillant does not indulge in such speculations, of course. His book excited the reviewer to think again about the Mexican Revolution, for it places recent years against the long perspective of a tremendous drama. "The Aztecs of Mexico" demands full tribute as a brilliant and unfailingly lucid treatment of a noble theme.

RALPH BATES

A Freudian Autobiography

FROM ORIENT TO OCCIDENT: MEMOIRS OF A DOCTOR. By Leon Weber-Bauler. Translated by Bernard Miall. Oxford University Press. $2.50.

SOME autobiographies describe an adult's life—his work, politics, avocations, and friends. Others, more subjective and introverted, initiate us into the life of a child—his first vivid impressions of the world, his elemental loves, fears, and longings. In the latter type of book we seem to see the same sights, feel the same sensations, as the child, and breathe the familiar odors of the author's early home. Such an autobiography conforms to the observation of Freud that the period of early childhood not only contains the most intense emotional experience of our lives but is formative and determining for the shape of the events that follow.

More than half of this book is devoted to childhood memories, and the latter part is an account of early influences as they persisted in adult life. The author's career as a doctor who worked with Pasteur in the early days of antisepsis, his artistic interests centering around the Russian Ballet, which brought him into the company of Bakst, Diaghilev, Benois, and later Isadora Duncan and Jacques Dalcroze, his activities as medical referee of the secretariat of the League of Nations, are only briefly touched upon. There are but fragmentary glimpses of the life of his time. The book's two motifs—perhaps they are really one—are Russia and the author's mother, a descendant of feudal landowners who elected to devote her life to the liberation of the proletariat and fled as a political refugee from Russia to Switzerland, to Italy, and finally to Paris. The hunted, neglected childhood of her son was pervaded with a nostalgia for the old home in Russia and a passionate devotion to his indomitable, revolutionary mother. Beginning and ending with a dream, the book maintains throughout a mood in keeping with the author's conclusion in a lonely adolescence: "From the moment when our early childhood is past, when the personality begins to take definite shape, it tends to isolate itself; and it seems that a great part of the effort of life henceforth will be given to mitigating this solitude by a constant endeavor to understand others."

KARL MENNINGER

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IN BRIEF

PEACE AIMS AND THE NEW ORDER. Outlining the Case for European Federation Together with a Draft Constitution of a United States of Europe. By R. W. G. Mackay. With a Foreword by Norman Angell. Dodd, Mead and Company. $2.50.

Like so many British political theorists just now, Mr. Mackay is convinced of the absolute necessity of federation in the post-war world. He believes world federation impossible for a long time, however, and British-American federation a less promising beginning than European federation, for which he provides a draft constitution. Given the fact that Great Britain is part of a world-wide empire and given the essential solidarity of the English-speaking countries, many will feel that anything short of world federation would be little more than a fresh complication.

PROPAGANDA AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: 1763-1783. By Philip Davidson. University of North Carolina Press. $4.

The thesis that the American Revolution was the work of a minority, consciously employing unremitting propaganda to change the attitude of the indifferent majority in the span of a single generation, is here developed. The documentation is thorough and the material well organized and effectively presented. It is so extensive as to leave little room for dissent. This book reinforces what is rapidly being recognized as the true view of the Revolution and the origin of the Constitution.

PERSONAL REVOLUTION AND PICASSO. By Louis Danz. Foreword by Merle Armitage. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.75.

This is an attempt to evaluate Picasso's "Guernica," which is reproduced as the frontispiece, and to draw from it certain fundamental principles about aesthetics. What Mr. Danz has to say is illuminating, but his style, much influenced by Miss Stein, for all its learned allusions and esoteric vocabulary, can only be described as baby talk. If a man has clear ideas, as Mr. Danz seems to have, why should he hesitate to put them clearly? It wouldn't make so long a book, of course, and it might not impress the *haute Bohème*. But must a philosopher now be always either pedantic or precious, and never a man of sense?

THE COMMON SENSE OF WAR AND PEACE. World Revolution or War Unending. By H. G. Wells. Penguin Books. 25 cents.

The subtitle—and Mr. Wells's previous books—will tell you what to expect. The author believes that under democracy revolutions are possible without violence and without throwing out the baby of civilized individualism with the bath water of rugged capitalism. It is to be hoped this is true; for Mr. Wells, who has been the Cassandra of the literary world as Mr. Churchill was in the political, has a way of predicting what actually comes to pass. Of the two alternatives he sees before us there can be little doubt which is preferable.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED

ARKANSAS. A Guide to the State. American Guide Series. Hastings House. $2.50.

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COME THE THREE CORNERS. Achievements of the Empire Overseas Since War Began. By Sir Harry Brittain. Hutchinson. $2.75.

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THE CAMBRIDGE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE FROM THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Vol. I. The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages. Edited by J. H. Clapham and the late Eileen Power. Macmillan. $7.50.

MEET THE SOUTH AMERICANS. By Carl Crow. Harper. $3.

FINLAND REVEALS HER SECRET DOCUMENTS ON SOVIET POLICY. March 1940-July 1941. Funk. $1.

VOLCANIC ISLE. By Wilfrid Fleisher. Doubleday, Doran. $3.

WAR IN THE AIR. September 1939-May 1941. By David Garnett. Doubleday, Doran. $3.50.

WHERE STANDS A WINGED SENTRY. By Margaret Kennedy. Yale University Press. $2.

STRICTLY PERSONAL. By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday, Doran. $2.50.

BALTIMORE ON THE CHESAPEAKE. By Hamilton Owens. Doubleday, Doran. $3.50.

THE MYTH OF THE TOTAL STATE. Europe's Last Bid for World Rule. By Guenter Reimann. Morrow. $2.75.

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AN ADVENTURE IN EDUCATION. Swarthmore College Under Frank Aydelotte. By the Swarthmore College Faculty. Macmillan. $2.50.

THE GREAT CULTURAL TRADITIONS: THE FOUNDATIONS OF CIVILIZATION. Vol. I. The Ancient Cities. Vol. II. The Classical Empires. By Ralph Turner. McGraw-Hill. $4.00 each.

THE INTENT OF THE CRITIC. By Edmund Wilson, Norman Foerster, John Crowe Ransom, W. H. Auden. Edited by Donald A. Stauffer. Princeton University Press. $2.50.

DRAMA

Bombs over Broadway

THE author of "The Wookey" (Plymouth Theater) is an American newspaperman named Frederick Hazlitt Brennan. By his own ready confession he has not seen Britain at war, and his play is frankly synthetic—or, if you prefer a phrase with more favorable connotations, "based on research." There does not, however, seem much risk in guessing that it will be one of the hits of the season, and I think it deserves all the success it can win.

No doubt some considerable part of the tumultuous applause which greets the fall of the final curtain is a tribute to the subject, the courage of the little man in England, rather than a tribute to the play as a play; but it would be a mistake to suppose there is no more to it than that or to take it too readily for granted that any play on so timely a subject could provoke so abundantly the response which an audience right now is doubtless ready to make. Such a play might very easily seem maudlin or cheap, but this one, for all its frank theatricality, is not fundamentally either. And I do not remember that the last great war produced, during its duration, anything one-half so effective.

What Mr. Brennan has written might be described in coldly professional terms as a melodramatic comedy-drama of character. The central figure — the Wookey himself—is the almost fabulous Cockney owner of a junk barge who stubbornly refuses to have anything to do with a war as badly managed as this one until the bombs begin to fall around him, but he ends as almost a symbol of dogged, matter-of-fact resistance against what looks like overwhelming odds. The two big melodramatic scenes of an air raid and after come, as they should in a melodrama, in the penultimate position, and they are tremendously effective, in part no doubt

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because one of Jo Mielziner's sets is unusually fine and because the sound effects, recorded in London by permission of the British Ministry of Information, are wonderfully convincing. The play ends on the day of the greatest raid on London with the Wookey, whose wife has been killed and whose cellar has been, with official irony, designated as a "shelter," climbing up with a machine-gun in his arms to face the swooping raiders.

Mr. Wookey himself, though like all the characters drawn in broad strokes, is an original conception—the portrait, almost the caricature, of the great-little man who is the center of his admiring circle, the unquestioned king of his household, and great in his own estimation as well as great, though in different ways, in actual fact. All the other characters, including the fighting Irishman and the Rabelaisian Aunt Gen who gives up strip-teasing to ladle out soup, are as true to stage tradition as they are to life; but for once at least theatrical conventions seem capable of carrying genuine observation and emotion. Perhaps I can best indicate to what extent this is true by making a confession highly complimentary to the author but possibly discreditable to me—namely, that if it were not for published information to the contrary I might very well have assumed that Mr. Brennan wrote from London and have proceeded to point out how a man who has been deeply moved by contact with some powerful reality may manage to give genuine expression to his thought and feeling even though using as vehicle literary or dramatic conventions previously learned. And I am not at all sure that something of the sort is not still appropriate, that Mr. Brennan has not done just that, has not written a play much more genuine than an analysis of its methods would tend to make seem possible. Nor should it, of course, be forgotten that presentation has much to do with effect. All the roles are well played. Edmund Gwenn is superb as the central figure, whether he is being comically self-assured or genuinely heroic, and Carol Goodner is precisely what she ought to be as Aunt Gen.

It may be that we shall have better, at least subtler and more intellectual, plays about the war at some later date. "Journey's End" and "What Price Glory" came, of course, in the twenties, and Bruce Bairnsfather's "Old Bill" transferred to the stage was about as near as either England or America came to expressing its war-time self in the theater during the period when the war was still being fought. "The Wookey" has a touch of the toughness of "What Price Glory," perhaps even a much slighter touch of the kind of caricature represented by Old Bill, but it suits a war-time world better than either because it is moving without being actually painful, because it is saved from being the latter not only by its robust comic aspects but by virtue of the fact that it is full of courage and respect for courage. Perhaps it is also appropriate to remark that to whatever extent propaganda may or may not be part of the intention, "The Wookey" is very effective propaganda indeed. It does not say that England should be aided. But it makes Englishmen seem to deserve our aid as much as they need it.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

RECORDS

TO THE eleven songs from Schubert's great "Winterreise" cycle that Lotte Lehmann recorded for Victor are now added seven that she has done for Columbia (Set 466, $3.50); "Gute Nacht" (No. 1 of the cycle) and "Wasserflut" (No. 6) on 71174-D; "Letzte Hoffnung" (No. 16), "Die Wetterfahne" (No. 2), and "Auf dem Flusse" (No. 7) on 71175-D; "Rast" (No. 10) and "Frühlingstraum" (No. 11) on 71176-D. These Columbia offers as its Volume 1; and presumably its Volume 2 will give us the remaining six. All the 24 songs of the cycle will, then, be available, but thoroughly mixed up in three albums, so that to hear them in their proper sequence one will have to play a side or even half a side of a record in one album, then a similar part of a record in another album, and so on. You or I could not produce anything like that; it takes the mind of a recording executive. You or I would supply the German text of each song and an English translation and put them on a leaflet that could be held comfortably when one read; it takes a recording executive to supply only the English and paste it on the cover of the album, which therefore one has to hold open uncomfortably.

Lehmann's resources of voice, of personal emotion, of specifically musical feeling are as always deeply affecting; and as always there are details of phrasing which one disapproves of while one is affected by them. One is moved by the dramatic over-intensification of "DIE Liebe liebt das Wandern" in "Gute Nacht," but one would prefer to be moved by musically effective phrasing of the melody as it is written: "Die LIEBE liebt das Wandern"—phrasing of the sort that is to be heard in Paul Ulanowsky's fine piano accompaniments. And in the rapid "Wetterfahne" Lehmann betrays vocal difficulties—in breathless and shrill singing, in slovenly phrasing, in changes of Schubert's melody. The records reproduce her voice with remarkable fidelity; but all the attention seems to have been concentrated on that, and not enough on good recording of the piano, and on such refinements as cleanness and quiet: with the music one hears grit, crackling, hissing.

These noises are especially bad in Gieseking's set (X-201, $2.50) of five Brahms Intermezzi for piano: Op. 118 No. 6 and Op. 76 Nos. 3 and 4 on 71172-D; Op. 116 No. 4 and Op. 119 No. 2 on 71173-D. The performances are excellent and reproduced with fidelity of timbre on the records; the pieces I dislike. But one hears the noises in lesser degree on other records: the set (X-202, $2.50) of Szigeti's superb performance of Corelli's beautiful "La Folia," which is reproduced with a brassy sound; Barbirolli's August set (X-200, $2.50) of Brahms's Academic Festival Overture, with performance and recording that are fair; the single disc (71190-D, $1) with Bartlett and Robertson's fine performance of Chopin's uninteresting Rondo Op. 73 for two pianos; another single (71192-D, $1) with Risë Stevens's beautiful singing of "Connais-tu le pays" from "Mignon" and her excessively mannered singing of the Habanera from "Carmen"; still another single (71193-D, $1) with Baccaloni's raucous singing of "La Vendetta" from "The Marriage of Figaro" and "A Un' Dottor' della mia sorte" from "The Barber of Seville."

And noises of that sort, indicating careless processing at one point or another, are also occasionally to be heard from Victor records—for example, the set (802, $2.50) of American works for solo wind instruments and string orchestra: Bernard Rogers's Soliloquy and Wayne Barlow's Rhapsody "The Winter's Past" on 18101; Burrill Phillips's American Dance and Homer Keller's Serenade on 18102. The works are competently written, but not in any way significant or distinctive; Howard Hanson's performances with the Eastman-Rochester Symphony seem good and are well recorded.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

All Aid—for What?

Dear Sirs: "War aims" is an ambiguous phrase: it means, on the one hand, the fighting objective, such as self-defense, conquest, victory, destruction of the enemy; it means, on the other hand, goals beyond the war but motivating it as a whole, such as revenge, imperial power, wealth, *Lebensraum,* peace, democracy, civilization. The failure of the League of Nations to "make the world safe for democracy" undoubtedly makes more difficult any effort to set up as a goal a new scheme for a world order acceptable to our culture. It makes difficult any motivation beyond survival, revenge, and restoration of the *status quo ante.*

Such goals are all illusory. "Survival" would mean little if in order to "survive" we gave up values for which we would lay down our lives—freedom, democratic responsibility, honor, humanity. The *status quo ante*—"business-as-usual"—can never be restored, thank God, for if it could it would be precisely that explosive, greedy "peace" which has already bred two world wars. Reprisal, which (*per* Gallup poll) now motivates half the English population, may win the war but lose the peace. It kills the enemy but revives the enmity. Lodge's and Clemenceau's revenge produced Hitler's hate. Hitler's revenge would perpetuate England's hate. Heaven protect us from the aftermath of our own revenge! But heaven won't.

The answer is not appeasement. Criminals at large must be stopped, not encouraged, even though we know nowadays what causes criminals. But while we take emergency measures against crime, we begin to recognize that only community reorganization and normal opportunities for all will prevent its increase. A situation in which international crime "does not pay" will be a world in which international good-will *does* pay; in which it will be more worth while to play the game under decent rules of live and let live—rules in the making and enforcing of which all men of good-will and good faith who accept them may have a share.

If the achievement of good-will and good faith are to be war aims, the United States should demand them as the only price worth the stupendous sacrifices we are now asked to make.

The defeat and uprooting of governments in most of the democracies should make their federalization a practical possibility, under the temporary shelter and hegemony of the Anglo-Saxon nations. A projected plan for the pooling of world resources for equitable access by all might check or offset any remaining greed on our side, and might be an inducement for starved peoples to recognize the ultimate folly of nihilistic power politics.

No war aims are ever fully realized as envisioned. But without positive, constructive goals beyond the war we die in vain. Our America may gain the whole world but lose its own soul.

THOMAS D. ELIOT

Evanston, Ill., September 10

Mr. Ransom to Miss Bogan

Dear Sirs: Only yesterday did I have the pleasure of reading Louise Bogan's review of my recent book in your issue of July 12.

I do not understand yet all of Miss Bogan's objections to it. For example, she refers to my discussions of "texture," and then oddly goes on to speak of "textual" criticism. She does it twice, and seems to identify me with the "textual" critic. Does she consider "textual" and "textural" the same thing? I have heard the two words pronounced much the same way by Southerners: is she then a Southerner, and influenced by the regional idiom? Or does she think the two adjectives are not the same, but either is so bad for the critic that it does not matter which he is, and he may take it either way without improving his position?

Other objections of hers I have to accept. She rebukes me for many things, but chiefly perhaps for a whole book that is "tense" and "abstract." I may not have realized how extreme my book is in both those properties. But Miss Bogan may recall with me one of the best things that T. S. Eliot ever said, I think in reviewing a book by Arthur Symons: that it behooves the critic to write about poetry in prose language rather than poetical language. At any rate, I think I assumed that a critical book in plain economical prose is in order if the critic pleases to write one, without disparagement to the critical books written on other principles. I am sure the result is no better than it should be, but I had rather expected that in *The Nation* it would fall into the hands of a reviewer who would examine its arguments instead of into those of a lady looking for literature and "images."

Miss Bogan turns back finally "in relief" to her beloved library of the writings of I. A. Richards, who is good enough to supply her with a perfectly gorgeous image from the Chinese, the one about riding bicycles round the parapets of heaven. But she had better be careful. Mr. Richards, if he has read her piece, is not charmed with it, for he is a tough thinker, and I must now defend him against her. I should like to know whether she has read Mr. Richards's first book, "The Meaning of Meaning," which strikes me as quite abstract and possibly tense too. If she has not read that one, she invites the designation of a four-flusher reviewer, for assuming to have more cards in her hand than she has. And then I should like to know whether she has read his formidable last book, "Interpretation in Teaching"; if she has not read that one either, she will have to go down as a three-flusher.

You, Sirs, might have handed a book entitled "The New Criticism" to a reviewer who was familiar with the new criticism, including the kind written by Mr. Richards.

JOHN CROWE RANSOM

Gambier, Ohio, August 30

Miss Bogan in Reply

Dear Sirs: Let me begin with the highest level of Mr. Ransom's letter. I quite agree with Eliot that the critic should write about poetry in prose language rather than in "poetical" language. But there are many different vocabularies in prose language, as I. A. Richards has spent more than twenty-five years making clear. And if one is to be a true critic of literature, beneath any vocabulary must exist a state of sensibility, an intuitive grasp, an open mind, and a generous and humble heart. Richards has spent years demanding such critical equipment, in the face of the disgruntled specialists. His intuition that "art and the rest of life are continuous" and his certainty that "art is the most valuable form of activity" have enraged pedants before this. Richards also be-

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lieves that "there is but one end for the sciences"—an inclusive and humane end. He wishes to tie up even rhetoric, grammar, and logic with larger knowledge, not to isolate and deform them. Because he holds these beliefs, he is "new"—not because he draws diagrams and conducts experiments in the classroom. His best *dicta* are "new" in the same way as the critical *dicta* of Baudelaire, Flaubert, Yeats, Rilke, and André Gide: consistently adhering as they do to the spirit, as opposed to the letter. Textbooks deal with the mechanics of the human spirit. Literature deals directly with that subtle, infinitely complicated spirit itself, and does better under the imagination of the artist than under the rules of the schoolmaster.

I find in my précis of that "formidable" book, "Interpretation in Teaching" ("interpretation," mind you!) the following sentence which the neo-classic school of critics might take to heart: "It is perhaps important to insist that abstract thinking is not a highly specialized, sophisticated intellectual feat."

And may I say that, after having reviewed books for eighteen years, and lived for forty-four, without ever having been called a lady, a four-flusher, a three-flusher, a Southerner, or (implicitly) a fool, Mr. Ransom's pure truculence in calling me all these things made me laugh very much?

LOUISE BOGAN

New York, September 9

P. S. And it is the "altar" of heaven, not the "parapets"! L. B.

Pan-American Student Center

Dear Sirs: We are pleased to inform you of the establishment in Bogotá of a Pan-American Student Center (Centro Panamericano de Estudiantes) whose aim is the realization of the following objectives: to establish close bonds and cultural exchanges among the American nations; to exchange books and publications and maintain correspondence with certain universities and similar organizations of this continent; to organize conferences on various phases of American culture to be conducted by professors of international law, diplomats, and literary figures; to welcome and entertain visiting American students; to undertake studies dealing with American international law, American sociology, and other subjects pertaining to our economic, artistic, and literary realities; to work for the foundation of similar centers in the other American republics.

Realizing your special interest in everything tending to strengthen the feeling of solidarity and mutual understanding among the American nations, we hope that you will bring our organization to the attention of your readers. We shall be grateful for the donation of theses, magazines, newspapers, or any other publications.

LUIS ORTIZ BORDA, General Secretary
Bogotá, Colombia, August 20

Tea and Currency

Dear Sirs: My household is drinking tea imported from England, and my mother is sending tea from here to my sister in London. I am quite sure the same is happening in other families. Would it not be possible to establish an agreement by which people could pay in dollars here for tea delivered in England to their families? It would give England foreign currency without wasting boat space. JULIE MEYER

New York, September 5

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